

# The Hispanic American Historical Review

Vol. XII

February, 1932

No. 1

## CHANGES IN THE EDITORIAL STAFF

At the meeting of the Board of Editors of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, held in Minneapolis in December, 1931, Professor Clarence H. Haring, whose term of office had expired, was elected an Advisory Editor, and Professor Herbert Ingram Priestley, who had previously been a member of the Editorial Staff, was elected to the vacancy left by the former. At the same time, the term of office for editors was made six years instead of five. As heretofore, the term of one editor will expire each year and his place will be filled by election of the Board.

The two gentlemen mentioned above are too well known to need comment. Each has a maturity of judgment coupled with scholarship which places them in the front rank of teachers of Hispanic American history. Both have rendered many services to the REVIEW, and it is good to know that those services are not to be discontinued. The REVIEW and its readers are to be congratulated in having the coöperation of these two men.

## EFFORTS OF THE UNITED STATES TO MEDiate IN THE PARAGUAYAN WAR

When President Hoover spoke in celebration of the first Pan-American Day, April 14, 1931, his address included the following statement:

From the earliest period of their history, the governments of the republics of this hemisphere have been earnest advocates of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. They have demonstrated their willingness and even eagerness to adopt and apply mediation, conciliation and arbitration.<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the mediation phase of this assertion, it is worth pointing out that there has occurred at least one exception to the president's generalization—the unequivocal refusal of Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and Uruguay to accept the proffered mediation of the Government of the United States during their war against Paraguay (1865-1870).

The Paraguayan War was a long, bitter conflict in which the Triple Allies, composed of the first three nations named above, sought to overthrow Francisco Solano López, Paraguayan dictator who in 1862 had inherited from his father a position of transcendent prestige and power. A five-year struggle, in which the very life of a tiny nation was numbed and stifled and in which occurred many of the inglorious phases of modern warfare—mutual charges and denials of wholesale atrocities and barbarities, violations of international law and the rights of neutrals, the infringement of the treaty rights of both combatants and non-combatants, the use of the newspaper press to influence the public opinion of people at home and abroad—was sufficient to attract the atten-

<sup>1</sup> *New York Times*, April 15, 1931, p. 18.



tion of the United States and other powers to the possibility of effecting a settlement of the difficulties.<sup>2</sup>

### THE FIRST AMERICAN PROPOSALS

The first efforts of neutral countries to mediate between the nations involved in the Paraguayan War were made during the latter part of 1866. During the previous ten years the world had seen and heard much of the horrors of military conflict. It was only a decade since the people of Europe had been watching the fate of Russia at Sebastopol; it was but seven years since Austria had been humbled by France and Italy at Magenta and Solferino; only two years before Prussia and Austria had attacked defenseless Denmark; and the echoes of Prussian guns at Sadowa were still heard. In North America, it was only a short time since the North and South had contributed to the record of carnage. Elsewhere in the western hemisphere, Spain was waging war against the independent Spanish American nations of the Pacific coast. Small wonder that the peoples of the world were tiring of war and that mediation in the Paraguayan struggle was considered or proposed by the United States, England, France, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, all of whom had seen or were still seeing at close range the dubious and terrible effects of modern warfare.<sup>3</sup>

Other factors than these may have been influential in determining the policy of the Washington government: perhaps the always present and ever ready desire to find an

<sup>2</sup> Summaries of the war are to be found in William Spence Robertson, *History of the Latin-American Nations* (New York, 1922), pp. 275-282; Mary W. Williams, *The People and Politics of Latin America* [Boston, 1930], pp. 622-628; Charles Edmond Akers, *A History of South America, 1854-1904* (New York, 1905), pp. 130-188.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Asboth, United States minister to Argentina, to William H. Seward, December 15, 1866, Department of State, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 113. For the offers of Chile and Peru, see Argentine Republic, *Memoria presentada por el Ministro de Estado en el Departamento de Relaciones Exteriores al Congreso Nacional en 1867*, pp. 182-185.

opportunity for an application of the intangible Monroe Doctrine; perhaps the feeling that the western hemisphere should be reserved as a sphere for American influence; perhaps the yearning to establish American prestige in the minds of the Hispanic nations; perhaps the wish to be prepared for the time when commercial aggrandizement would become possible. Whatever the motive, the United States was led to offer its mediation and its ministers were led to undiplomatic insistence upon its acceptance.

In October, 1866, William H. Seward, secretary of state, indicated to all of the ministers of the United States in the South Atlantic that, although the United States had no intention of interfering in the La Plata controversy, it did desire to see peace prevailing in the western hemisphere, and suggested that any request for the good offices of the United States on the part of the combatants would be happily received and complied with.<sup>4</sup> The initial inspiration for the suggestion had apparently come from J. Watson Webb, United States minister in Brazil, who had indicated to Seward in the previous August that

... If the United States do not intervene by the offer of mediation, England and France, most assuredly, will from necessity do so. And against such friendly interference by them, we of course could not object. Under existing circumstances then, and where the "Monroe Doctrine" has been virtually admitted by the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico, it does appear to me, that the United States without setting up any claim in the premises, should indirectly assume, that it is her *right* to interpose in all international conflicts on this continent to the full extent that interposition from other Powers is admissable [sic]. We should impress all the American Governments with a conviction, that it is alike their interest and their duty, to look

<sup>4</sup>Seward to J. Watson Webb, United States minister to Brazil, October 10, 1866, Instructions, Brazil, XVI. 158-159, printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1866, II. 326; Seward to Asboth, October 15, 1866, Instructions, Argentina, XV. 259-260, printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1866, II. 286; Seward to Charles A. Washburn, United States minister to Paraguay, October 17, 1866, Instructions, Paraguay, I. 88-89, printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1866, II. 611.



to the United States for protection and advice; protection from European interference, and friendly council and advice in regard to difficulties with their Neighbors.<sup>5</sup>

That the decision of the state department to take up this mediation project may have been due to its interest in the commercial possibilities of the region is attested to by Seward's statement at the time:

... [The war] has been watched from here with an interest which could not fail to be entertained from the material, moral, and political results involved, both to the parties and to this country. The region which is its seat, naturally one of the richest on the globe, had, until recently, been shut out from trade by the peculiar policy of the former chiefs of Paraguay, and by other well known causes. When this policy was ended by the treaties to which the United States was a party, opening the magnificent rivers in that quarter to intercourse abroad, we began to share in that intercourse to a degree which inspired, apparently, just hopes that its prosperity would rapidly augment. These hopes have been disappointed by the war referred to, which has now been so much protracted that the resources of the belligerents must be materially affected, even if they should make peace at once.<sup>6</sup>

Seward's proposals assumed a more definite character in December when the house of representatives passed a resolu-

<sup>5</sup> Webb to Seward, August 7, 1866, Despatches, Brazil, XXXII. printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1866, II. 320. Soon after his return to Asunción in November, 1866, and before the receipt of Seward's note, Washburn had written to the secretary of state regarding the possibility of mediation by the United States. Washburn had been away from Paraguay since January, 1865, owing to a leave of absence spent in the United States and to the refusal of the allies to permit him to return through their military lines to his post. (Washburn to Seward, December 25, 1866, Despatches, Paraguay, II., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 706-707.)

<sup>6</sup> Seward to Washburn, October 17, 1866, Instructions, Paraguay, I. 88-89, printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1866, II. 611. In 1853, the United States had signed with Argentina a "Treaty for the Free Navigation of the Rivers Paraná and Uruguay". William M. Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols, and Agreements between the United States of America and other Powers, 1776-1909* (Washington, 1910), I. 18-20.

tion suggesting the possibility of United States mediation in both the Paraguayan War and the war of Spain against the Pacific nations of South America.<sup>7</sup> Notification of the resolution was sent to United States ministers,<sup>8</sup> and a circular letter containing a specific proposition was dispatched to the warring nations.<sup>9</sup> It was proposed that a conference be held in Washington of plenipotentiaries from Paraguay, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and Uruguay, authorized to treat of all matters of difference and to consider and agree upon terms of permanent peace. Paraguay was to appoint one delegate; the allies were to select one representative for each country or one for all three. The president of the United States was to be empowered to appoint the presiding officer, who might give information and advice, but who might not vote. All resolutions adopted must be unanimous and must be ratified by the respective governments, the president was to appoint an umpire in case of disagreement, and an armistice was to take place as soon as the propositions were accepted by all concerned.<sup>10</sup>

Webb had communicated Seward's October suggestion to Antonio Coelho de Sa'e Albuquerque, Brazilian minister of foreign affairs, in December,<sup>11</sup> and, when notice of the house resolution arrived, that too was immediately brought to his attention.<sup>12</sup> The Argentine foreign office was similarly notified.<sup>13</sup> Responses to these proffers, as will be seen, were not

<sup>7</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1866-1867, XXXVII., pt. I, 152. The House gave as the reason for its offer that the war was "destructive of commerce and injurious and prejudicial to republican institutions".

<sup>8</sup> Seward to Asboth, December 20, 1866, Instructions, Argentina, XV. 263-266, printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 114.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Webb to Seward, January 24, 1867, Despatches, Brazil, XXXII., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 245.

<sup>12</sup> Webb to Albuquerque, January 21, 1867, Despatches, Brazil, XXXII., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 247.

<sup>13</sup> Asboth to Dr. Don Rufino de Elizalde, Argentine minister of foreign affairs, January 1, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867,



immediately forthcoming and the delay led to later complications.

Public opinion in the Río de la Plata in this instance was by no means unanimous, although Asboth, so far as he was able to determine, was convinced that the mass of the people was favorable to the acceptance of the United States offer.<sup>14</sup> In Argentina, *La Republica* and *Pueblo* openly urged "not only the advisability but the pressing necessity of making peace through the mediation of the United States."<sup>15</sup> In the Montevideo *Tribuna*, the peace proposal was bitterly assailed and Seward was even accused of attempting to exercise the right of intervention, a right, it was pointed out, which he had denied to England, France, and Russia during the Civil War.<sup>16</sup> The *Tribuna's* stand is easily explainable. Uruguay was piqued that it had not received a copy of the circular letter sent to the other nations involved in the war. The paper was a Brazilian organ, and Asboth thought, at this time, that both the Uruguayan and Argentine governments were under the influence of Brazil, which was not yet

II. 116, and *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1867, pp. 176-177; Asboth to Elizalde, February 6, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 132-133, and *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1867, pp. 182-185.

<sup>14</sup> Asboth to Seward, January 22, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 119; Asboth to Seward, February 2, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 131.

<sup>15</sup> Clippings from these papers for January 17 and 22, 1867 are inclosures in Asboth to Seward, January 22, Despatches, Argentina, XVI. The attitude of the papers is mentioned in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 119.

<sup>16</sup> This article was reprinted from issue of January 25, 1867, in *La República*, January 27, 1867. See Asboth to Seward, January 27, 1867, and inclosures, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 123-124. (For Seward's attitude in the instance of the French offer of mediation in the Civil War, see Seward to William L. Dayton, United States minister to France, May 30, 1861, *Foreign Affairs*, 1861, 215-216. See also *Senate Journal*, 37th Cong., 3d Sess., [serial 1148], pp. 367-368. The diplomatic correspondence on the French proffer and the proposed joint intervention of Great Britain, France, and Russia is in *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1864-1865, LV. 412-451.)

ready to consider the making of peace with Paraguay.<sup>17</sup> Several Argentine newspapers were suppressed for their advocacy of the acceptance of the American mediation.

#### PROCRASTINATION AND REFUSAL

Efforts of Asboth and Charles A. Washburn, United States minister to Paraguay, throughout January, February, and March, 1867, to hasten Argentine and Brazilian action on the American mediation proposal were to no avail.<sup>18</sup> Brazil, which stood out most firmly against its acceptance, now felt that it was in a fair way to strike the fatal blow at Paraguayan resistance; Argentina, cognizant of the fact that Brazil was now the backbone of the allied strength, was not in a position to contest Brazilian whims. Both consequently hoped to delay consideration of the proposition until the subjugation of Paraguay made mediation unnecessary.<sup>19</sup>

Washburn, who was a friend and supporter of López until the latter started his campaign of wholesale atrocities in the summer of 1868, had no difficulty in getting Paraguayan consent for the mediation.<sup>20</sup> Having accomplished this, he attempted to gain Brazilian acquiescence by seeking an interview with the Marquis de Caxias, Brazilian commander-in-chief of the allied armies, who was stationed close to Para-

<sup>17</sup> Asboth to Seward, February 2, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, 129-130.

<sup>18</sup> Asboth to Elizalde, January 26, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 122, and *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1867, p. 178; Asboth to Seward, January 27, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 121-123; Asboth to Rear-Admiral Godon, February 16, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 136; Elizalde to Asboth, February 18, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 136, and *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1867, pp. 185-186.

<sup>19</sup> Asboth to Seward, February 25, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 137.

<sup>20</sup> José Berges, Paraguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Washburn, March 4, 1867, Despatches, Paraguay, II., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 713; George Thompson, *The War in Paraguay* (London, 1869), p. 217.



guay.<sup>21</sup> The United States minister was probably in error in approaching a military leader on a purely diplomatic mission, but the soldier showed no hesitancy in assuming diplomatic as well as military functions.<sup>22</sup>

Caxias informed Washburn without the least reticence that the allies would refuse to consider any terms for the ending of hostilities which did not include as a prerequisite the resignation of López and his retirement from Paraguay.<sup>23</sup> With reference to this qualification Washburn informed the Brazilian leader that

. . . It certainly could never have been the intention of the government of the United States to offer its mediation on any such presupposed basis. The fundamental principle of that government is that the people of every nation have a clear and unquestionable right to that form of government which they shall select, and that all just powers emanate from the consent of the governed; that no foreign power has a right to impose on a neighboring and independent country a government not selected by its people, and as the people of Paraguay have never evinced a desire to change their form of government, or to place at the head of it any other than the present chief magistrate, the government of the United States cannot, consistently with its traditional policy, regard with favor the treaty of alliance by which the three powers bound themselves to impose other authority than the present on the people of Paraguay.

. . . . .  
This condition precedent to mediation is certainly so antagonistic to all ideas of national self-government, that the undersigned believes it to be his duty to his government, that never could have contemplated such a reply to its offer of mediation, to protest against it. . . .<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Washburn to Caxias, March 11, 1867, Despatches, Paraguay, II., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 718-719.

<sup>22</sup> Charles A. Washburn, *The History of Paraguay, with Notes of Personal Observations, and Reminiscences of Diplomacy under Difficulties* (Boston, 1871), II. 184-185.

<sup>23</sup> Caxias to Washburn, March 12, 1867, Despatches, Paraguay, II., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 719.

<sup>24</sup> Washburn to Caxias, March 19, 1867, Despatches, Paraguay, II., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 720.

Paraguayan authorities, it is perhaps needless to say, were entirely in sympathy with this denunciation, however imprudent from a diplomatic point of view, of the preliminary condition to mediation laid down by Caxias.<sup>25</sup>

Despite the persistent efforts of Asboth and Washburn, the Argentine and Brazilian authorities continued to do nothing but give assurances of their good will and promises of an early reply.<sup>26</sup> British representatives in the south Atlantic wrote home that the American proffer was certain to be rejected, and for many reasons. They thought the plan "ill-suited to the circumstances of the case", Washington was too distant a place for convening, the necessity of communicating with the home governments would make negotiations too long, and the time thus spent would be to the advantage of López, who might be enabled to augment his depleted resources. Besides this, it was said, the allies felt they were waging war on a point of honor and no one could satisfy that honor but themselves.<sup>27</sup>

The anticipated refusals of the Argentine, Uruguayan, and Brazilian governments were eventually forthcoming, the one on March 30, the second on March 31, and the third on April 26. The foreign ministers of all countries advanced the notion, like a United States president almost exactly fifty years later, that they were fighting the unbounded ambition of a tyrant and no one but they themselves could guarantee

<sup>25</sup> Berges to Washburn, March 24, 1867, Despatches, Paraguay, II., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 721.

<sup>26</sup> Asboth to Seward, March 25, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 150. Asboth received information to this effect in personal visits from Senhor Britto, the Brazilian minister to Argentina, and Elizalde.

<sup>27</sup> W. G. Lettsom, English agent in Uruguay, to Lord Stanley, March 29, 1867, *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1874-1875, LXVI. 1289-1290; G. Buckley Mathew, English minister to Argentina, to Stanley, April 6, 1867, *ibid.*, pp. 1290-1293; Edward Thornton, English minister to Brazil, to Stanley, April 8, 1867, *ibid.*, p. 1290.



his extinction.<sup>28</sup> The hopeful and rather idealistic governor of the province of Buenos Aires noted on the occasion:

... We must suppose the refusal of the national government was on the double ground that the mediation would procure us neither reparation for the past injuries nor a guarantee of peace for the future, which are, in effect, the primary objects of all wars in civilized countries. Happily, those barbarous times are past when war was waged for conquest or extermination.<sup>29</sup>

At least a portion of the newspaper press of the allied countries continued to espouse the cause of mediation and became indignant at its refusal. The Montevideo *Tribuna*, so recently in opposition, now suddenly switched to the side of mediation, and such papers as *La Prensa Entre Riana*, *Journal do Brasil*, and *The Standard* evinced the popular dissatisfaction of the people of Brazil and the La Plata region at the refusal.<sup>30</sup>

#### AMERICAN INSISTENCE AND HISPANIC AMERICAN RESENTMENT

Asboth in Buenos Aires had difficulty in correlating the refusal of the offer with the professed respect of Argentina for the United States and its avowed desire for mediation.<sup>31</sup> He showed no qualms in pointing out this inconsistency to Elizalde, he virtually insisted, in his zeal, on Argentine acceptance of his country's proposal, and, what was worse, entered

<sup>28</sup> Elizalde to Asboth, March 30, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 158-160, and *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1867, pp. 188-189; Albuquerque to Webb, April 26, 1867, Despatches, Brazil, XXXII., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 253; Alberto Flangini, Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Seward, March 31, 1867, Notes from the Uruguayan Legation, I.

<sup>29</sup> In a speech at the opening of the legislative assembly, quoted in Despatches, Argentina, XVI., and *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 182.

<sup>30</sup> See clippings from these papers in Despatches, Argentina, XVI. There are also references to and excerpts from them in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 145, 148-150, 153, 168-171.

<sup>31</sup> Asboth to Seward, April 10, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 161.

into a lengthy discussion of the domestic conditions in the La Plata region and the need of its people for peace. His picture was, in part, as follows:

. . . The general feeling now, as indicated by the public press, is one of weariness at the protracted sanguinary strife against a sister republic, with an earnest and unmistakable longing for peace. The loss of so many thousand brave Argentines, which has plunged into grief and desolation their once happy homes; the waste of so many millions of treasure, accompanied by a heavy and daily increasing public debt; the paralyzation of trade, the ruin of agriculture, the drain of the country's resources, the open rebellion and anarchy in four provinces, with serious disaffection in others; the consequent temporary transfer by the President of the republic of the commander-in-chief of the allied armies to a Brazilian general, with the simultaneous withdrawal of the larger portion of the Argentine forces from the seat of war; and, further, the frequent Indian invasions, attended with murder, rapine, and the desolation among natives and new settlers, thus checking the march of civilization to which the enlightened policy of the national government has opened so wisely and paved so liberally the way into the boundless tracts of the virgin pampas; all these woes and afflictions speak most eloquently in support of the people's evident desire to see this disastrous war give place to the blessings of peace, and the future thus secured against complications perilous to republican institutions, which even the successful issue of the war may involve.<sup>32</sup>

One would hardly apply the adjective "diplomatic" to Asboth's searching diagnosis of Argentina's policies and its internal conditions. Nor would any one deny that Elizalde was entirely justified in sending this note, curt, poignant, satiric, to the American minister:

. . . The Argentine government must refrain from entering into an appreciation of your excellency's remarks which do not refer to the

<sup>32</sup> Asboth to Elizalde, April 10, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 161, and *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1867, pp. 192-193.



offer of friendly mediation of the United States government, although it recognizes the noble sentiments that inspired them.<sup>33</sup>

It is difficult to understand how Seward could have termed Asboth's remarks "discreetly expressed" and "in entire harmony with the views of this government", as he did, but it is easy to comprehend why he advised him "that earnestness for the restoration of peace is not to be carried to the extent of invading the sovereignty or the dignity of the belligerents" and that "nothing could be further from the President's purpose than an idea of imposing any constraint or bringing any national pressure to bear upon that choice".<sup>34</sup>

These untoward and imprudent activities of Asboth could not easily be passed over and the resentment of the Argentine government was well represented by Señor Bartolomé Mitre y Vedía, acting chargé d'affaires of the Argentine legation in Washington, in a long and powerful discourse to Seward on July 9. Vedía was instructed by his government to present the Argentine case to the secretary of state. He dwelt at length on the causes of the war, the provisions of the treaty of the Triple Alliance, and the numerous efforts at mediation which had been made by neutral powers during the past two years. He objected to the general tenor of Asboth's note, derided his zeal in painting the gloom of conditions in Argentina, and questioned his right to discuss the internal situa-

<sup>33</sup> Elizalde to Asboth, April 22, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVI., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 188, and *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1867, p. 194.

<sup>34</sup> Seward to Asboth, May 27, 1867, Instructions, Argentina, XV., 286-287, printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 178. Seward wrote very critically to Webb of Asboth's and Washburn's actions in pressing for the acceptance of the mediation proposal: "The instructions in the present case did not require from those representatives an examination and report upon the merits of the respective states in the original controversy, or upon the character, pretensions, and claims of the several belligerents . . . it is unnecessary for the representative near one of the belligerents to go out of his way to argue against the case and draw an injurious character of the opposing parties in the conflict. . . ." (Seward to Webb, June 17, 1867, Instructions, Brazil, XVI., 177-178, printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 254.)

tion in the country in the manner adopted. His frankness is refreshing. He wrote:

In the despatch referred to, the American minister does not confine himself to insisting on the acceptance of the good offices of his government, as he should have done, and to the demonstration of the benefits of peace; but he thought proper to enter into a discussion of the war, our home policy, the state of public opinion and the finances of the country, which, it is presumed, were duly weighed and considered previously by the Argentine government.

In the fulfillment of his laudable duty, the Argentine government does not think the United States minister had any right to discuss the situation of the country, pictured by him in such gloomy colors, in his aforementioned note.

To pass this in silence would be to admit that Mr. Asboth, despite his brief sojourn among us, was a better judge of our condition and wants than a government chosen by the people, whose duty was to be acquainted with that condition and provide for those wants. Even admitting the government was in error, it was not the duty of a foreign diplomatic agent to point it out; the most ardent desire to promote the happiness and comfort of a country to whose government he is accredited does not justify such a proceeding.

He had confidence, he concluded, that the American government would "know how to appreciate the justice of these observations".<sup>35</sup>

There was little for Seward to do but to promise a rectification of the matter.<sup>36</sup> Adjustments were made in Buenos Aires by Asboth, who attempted to find an explanation for the difficulty and communicated it to Dr. Don Marcelino Ugarte, the new Argentine foreign minister.<sup>37</sup> It is not to

<sup>35</sup> Vedia to Seward, Notes from the Argentine Legation, II., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 242-243, and *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1868, pp. 276-279.

<sup>36</sup> Seward to Vedia, July 11, 1867, Notes to the Argentine Legation, VI., 57-58, printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 243-244, and *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1868, pp. 279-280.

<sup>37</sup> Asboth to Ugarte, October 22, 1867, Despatches, Argentina, XVII., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1868, II. 228-230, and *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1868, pp. 281-284.

be assumed that the American ministers were responsible for the rejection of the offer, but their methods certainly were not such as to convert the demurring Latin Americans.

After these developments little was heard of the American suggestions for mediation from July, 1867, until January of the following year. The ardor of the American ministers was doubtless somewhat cooled for the time being and the initiative in matters of mediation momentarily passed to English representatives.<sup>38</sup>

### FINAL FAILURE

When President Johnson sent his annual message to congress in 1867, he was able to report on the efforts of the state department to mediate in the South American wars nothing more than that the proposals had been "kindly received". He noted that the war in the region of the Paraná continued and suggested that, if proper opportunity presented, the conciliatory offers would be renewed.<sup>39</sup>

The war having gone on without decisive effects for nearly a year after the first American peace proffers, the good offices were extended again in January, 1868. On this occasion negotiations were carried on through J. Watson Webb, United States minister in Brazil, who essayed to be entirely politic when he wrote:

... the United States is neither tenacious of its own views nor jealous of the good offices of others. It belongs to the belligerent powers not only to choose the terms of peace, but the forms which should be adopted to secure it.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> For details of the mediation efforts of G. Z. Gould, secretary of the British legation in Buenos Aires, see Despatches, Argentina, XVI.-XVIII., Despatches, Paraguay, II.; *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 206, 234-235, 730-733; Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, pp. 217-220; Thomas J. Hutchinson, *The Paraná: with Incidents of the Paraguayan War, and South American Recollections, from 1861-1868* (London, 1868), pp. 331-333.

<sup>39</sup> James Daniel Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1896-1899), VI. 578.

<sup>40</sup> Webb to João Lustoza da Cunha Paranaguá, Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs, January 27, 1868, Despatches, Brazil, XXXIII., printed in *Foreign*



One detects here none of that overzealousness which had caused the Argentine resentment of the previous year.

If Webb showed a greater moderation than Asboth and Washburn in his desire to see the American mediation successful, he erred in the matter of impartiality. In his letter to the Brazilian foreign minister, he was so indiscreet as to inform him that he fully absolved Brazil from all blame for the starting of the war.<sup>41</sup> Although this show of imprudence did not call forth a protest from Paraguay, as it might have from a nation stronger and in a better position to maintain its diplomatic rights, it did occasion a reprimand from Seward, who refused to sanction the statement and who reminded Webb that his

government has at no time thought it necessary or expedient to assume to pronounce on the merits of that unhappy and protracted controversy.<sup>42</sup>

Replies to the renewal of the American tender of good offices were not slow in arriving in this instance and by the first week in April, 1868, all three of the allied governments had sent their "regrets".<sup>43</sup> There was little explanation in

*Affairs*, 1868, II. 262; Webb to Seward, February 6, 1868, Despatches, Brazil, XXXIII., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1868, II. 263-264; Webb to Madison E. Hollister, United States Consul at Buenos Aires, February 1, 1868, Despatches, Brazil, XXXIII., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1868, II. 264; Webb to the President of the Argentine Republic, February 1, 1868, Despatches, Brazil, XXXIII., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1868, II. 264, and *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1868, pp. 288-289. (This new offer was made by Webb at the suggestion of Seward, November 26, 1867, Instructions, Brazil, XVI., 192, printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1867, II. 255-256.)

<sup>41</sup> Webb to Paranaguá, January 27, 1868, Despatches, Brazil, XXXIII., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1868, II. 263.

<sup>42</sup> Seward to Webb, March 23, 1868, Instructions, Brazil, XVI., 198, printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1868, II. 270.

<sup>43</sup> Ellauri, of Uruguayan foreign office, to Webb, March [no day], 1868; Elizalde to Webb, March 24, 1868; Paranaguá to Webb, April 8, 1868; all inclosures in Webb to Seward, April 25, 1868, Despatches, Brazil, XXXIII., printed in *Foreign Affairs*, 1868, II. 271-273. The note Elizalde to Webb is also printed

each case; they simply said the reasons for refusal were the same as before.

When the time came for the next annual message of the president, he could only report that the mediation suggestion of the house of two years before had been without result.<sup>44</sup> The war was concluded two years later, but the mediation of the United States played no part in its termination. It is interesting, if not significant, to reiterate here that at no time in the negotiations did the governments of Argentina and Brazil demonstrate a sincere "willingness", not to mention "eagerness", "to adopt and apply mediation".<sup>45</sup>

This discussion, therefore, reports no victory for the diplomacy of the United States, no success in the furtherance of "her right to interpose in all international conflicts on this continent", no impressment upon "all the American Governments . . . that it is alike their interest and their duty, to look to the United States for protection and advice. . . ."<sup>46</sup> From behind the clouded ramifications of the offer of mediation, however, and the insistence upon its acceptance, some light may be shed upon four angles of American policy in the episode: (1) the questionable and inept attitude of American ministers; (2) a possible commercial motive beneath an ostensible diplomatic move; (3) the desire to establish the principle of intervention in international disputes in South America; and (4) the wish to forestall European interposition.<sup>47</sup>

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in *Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, 1868, p. 289. See also the speech of the Brazilian Emperor on May 9, 1868, in *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1868-1869, LIX., 1151.

<sup>44</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, VI. 685.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> See Webb to Seward, *ante*, page 4 and note 5.

<sup>47</sup> The idea in (2) was inferred by Seward, Seward to Washburn, *ante*, page 5 and note 6). Points (3) and (4) were expressed by Webb (*ante*, page 4 and note 5), who was probably responsible for the inception of the idea of mediation.



## NATIONAL ORIGINS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The primary reason for the existence of five republics in Central America today is found in five isolated groups of settlements established in the days of the Spanish conquest. Discovering no fabulous treasure in Central America, the Spaniards sought out for occupation the best agricultural regions with exploitable natives and habitable climate, and found them only in the highland, far removed from the coast and from each other. The conditions of the resulting isolation have had important bearing on the history of these settlements.

The elevated plateau of Guatemala, once dominated by the Mayas, was heavily populated at the time of the conquest by tribes of sedentary culture who dwelt in "cities" and, if we may believe the Spanish reports, fought each other or the European invaders in armies of 100,000 men.<sup>1</sup> In the midst of these the Spaniards formed their community. San Salvador was a branch of the same settlement but more than 150 miles distant. Here the region was much lower and nearer the Pacific coast but still far from any natural port. The land was very productive and the native population was vigorous and only slightly less dense than on the plateau.

The attractive features in Nicaragua were the lakes with surrounding arable plains and apparent possibility of inter-oceanic transit. Honduras had its beginning in an overland route to the Caribbean and, later, the discovery of mineral deposits in the mountains.<sup>2</sup> The coast settlements on the Gulf of Honduras were important at first but later served chiefly as landing places for the interior communities. In

<sup>1</sup> Domingo Juarros, *A Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala* (London, 1823, translation by J. Baily of "Compendio de la Historia de la Ciudad de Guatemala"), p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Juarros, *op. cit.*, p. 331 et seq.

both Honduras and Nicaragua the natives were more docile and much less numerous than in the regions farther west, still they formed an ample working class for their conquerors.<sup>3</sup>

The settlements in Costa Rica, last to be founded and most isolated of all, were in a high mountain valley, far from either coast and farther still from the nearest neighbor, Nicaragua. Here the natives were negligible in numbers but more barbaric and hence more difficult to transform into a serf class than any others in Central America. Besides, they were protected by the benevolence of a later generation of *conquistadores*. Consequently, the province of Costa Rica, within its valley limits, was built by Spanish brawn as well as brain, for the Indian working class of other provinces was almost wholly lacking.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the geographical isolation of the different communities, the inter-action within them of the Spanish and native races further served to give to each province a permanent individuality. In Costa Rica, as already stated, there was virtually no contact and therefore virtually no mingling of the races, and the population, within the area of Spanish settlement, has remained almost wholly white. But in each of the other settlements, while a few Spanish families preserved through succeeding generations the purity of their blood streams, there was an ever widening circle of *ladinos* or *mestizos*, having in varying degrees the characteristics of both races. Simultaneously, harsh treatment and the white

<sup>3</sup> See accounts of the conquest by H. H. Bancroft, *Central America* (3 Vols., San Francisco, 1887), and Juarros, *op. cit.* For geographical data see also Juarros, *op. cit.*; A. H. Keane, *Central and South America*, 2 vols., in *Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel* (London, 1911), II.; Thomas Gage, *A New Survey of the West Indies, or the English American His Travels by Sea and Land* (London, 3rd ed., 1677); and Ernst B. Filsinger, *Commercial Travelers' Guide to Latin America* with separate package of maps (U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Washington, 1920).

<sup>4</sup> Ricardo Fernández Guardia, *History of the Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica* (transl. by H. W. Van Dyke, New York, 1913), pp. 7-22 and *passim*.



man's diseases tended to reduce the numbers of the original native stock.<sup>5</sup>

The resultant population after three centuries of this process of mixture varied in the different localities in direct proportion to the original number and degree of hardihood of the native inhabitants. In Guatemala, the whites and *mestizos* were still far outnumbered by pure Indians, even apart from those of the eastern forests where Spanish influence scarcely reached. In the San Salvador district, there were still large numbers of pure-blooded Indians but fewer in proportion than in Guatemala. In Nicaragua and Honduras, within the area of Spanish settlement, people of unmixed Indian blood had all but disappeared, leaving the population *mestizo* almost in its entirety, aside from the small but influential group of whites.<sup>6</sup>

Such, in racial aspect, was the population that in the early part of the nineteenth century became for the first time politically self conscious under the movement for independence from Spain. From that time forward, as notions of democracy became diffused, the racial composition of each community increasingly affected its development and complicated or simplified its problems. In colonial days, however, the actual direction of affairs, social, economic, and political, was in the hands of the whites. Hence the important centers of early political activity were the white or near-white groups in the principal towns of each province, and each of these aspired to be mentor and guide to the surrounding villages.

Under Spain, the whites of each province were, in turn, more or less sharply divided between the European Spaniards and the "creoles" or whites born in the colonies. The former held, as elsewhere, the best government positions and a few of the latter controlled most of the wealth. But with

<sup>5</sup> Francisco de Paula García Peláez (archbishop of Guatemala), *Memorias para la Historia del antiguo Reyno de Guatemala* (3 vols., Guatemala, 1851-1852), I. 79-96.

<sup>6</sup> Juarros, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-158.

the passing of Spanish control, the creoles tended to divide into liberal and conservative factions. A large proportion of them, those of "good family" as well as the low born, were either poor or in very moderate circumstances. Socially, they ranged from the lower levels of professionals up to the small group of families who claimed rank of nobility. Wealth and social rank, or the lack of them, strongly influenced their political theories.

The most capable of the *mestizos* were artisans, skilled laborers, and overseers, while the less able ones and the Castilianized Indians were household servants, farm hands, and casual laborers. Normally, these all formed a socially inert mass but under political agitation they gave support to the respective factions of white leaders or formed militant groups of their own.

The tendency toward individuality of communities is equally manifest in political affairs. Spanish Central America was formed by expansion from Panama and Mexico and was first divided for government between those two capitals. But as early as 1542, Central America was made a separate unit by the establishment of an *audiencia* and the appointment of a "governor and captain general", whose joint jurisdiction extended from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to the region where Costa Rica was later to have its beginnings. After 1568, this arrangement was permanent and the territory came to be known as the "Kingdom of Guatemala".<sup>7</sup> Viewed outwardly, this "kingdom" was very logically a political unit, comprising the entire Central American highland. Panama, on the one hand, could be reached for practical purposes only by sea, while Mexico, in the other direction, lay beyond the lowlands of Tehuantepec.

But internally, the unity was not so apparent. The vari-

<sup>7</sup>Juarros, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128; León Fernández, *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Costa Rica* (10 vols., San José, Costa Rica, 1881-1907), IV. 61-66, 288-289, V. 1-2, 79; *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias* (4 vols., Madrid, 1756), Lib. II, Tit. XV, Ley VI.



ous groups of settlements were separated by wide spaces of rough and forested country, and it was these stern forces of geography more than any others that molded the units of local government into their present form, creating the provinces that later became nations.

The word "province" was a late comer in Spanish American official usage and was at first used very loosely. By well-established custom, new or subsidiary settlements were organized according to their size or importance as *corregimientos*, *alcaldías mayores*, or *gobiernos*. In the case of a *gobierno* which was large or, like Costa Rica, far removed from other settlements and on a hostile frontier, the governor often exercised military as well as civil authority and bore the title of "governor and captain general", though he was subject to the orders of the higher "governor and captain general" of all of Central America.<sup>8</sup> None of these districts was officially referred to as a "province".

The intendancies, created in 1786, followed in some cases the lines of the *gobiernos*. The intendancy system was designed to produce greater efficiency in the administration of justice, police, finance, and war, and as one of its major functions was the collection of taxes, its territorial organization reflects the actual economic importance of the various sections at the close of the colonial period.<sup>9</sup>

The constitution of 1812 spoke of "provinces" and provided for "each province" a system of local self government, but in the application to Central America there was much confusion as to what constituted a province. The authorities in Guatemala interpreted it to mean the entire kingdom of Guatemala, but others claimed the rank of province for *gobiernos* or intendancies, especially where the two coincided,

<sup>8</sup> *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias*, Lib. V, Tit. II, Ley I; Juarros, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205; Laudelino Moreno, *Historia de las Relaciones interestatales de Centroamérica* (Madrid, 1928), p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Lillian Estelle Fisher, *The Intendant System in Spanish America* (Berkeley, 1929), pp. 33-64.

since there was no distinction in title between these governors and the "governor and captain general" in Guatemala City.<sup>10</sup> A coinciding intendancy was an added indication of strength and importance. It was a combination of *gobierno* and intendancy lines that formed the boundaries of the provinces as finally established, and in later international disputes the divisions of the intendancy system were by agreement recognized as the basis for international boundaries.<sup>11</sup>

The story of the growth of these provinces is one of gradual adaptation of political units to natural conditions. The settlements between Nicaragua and Honduras, on the one hand, and Tehuantepec, on the other, were formed mainly by expansion from Guatemala City along the highland and down the Pacific slope. But Chiapas and Soconusco lay over the divide looking northwestward, and with the coming of independence they both leaned politically in the direction of their geographical bent, and elected to join permanently with Mexico.

San Salvador, blessed with unusually rich soil and favorable climate without the handicap of high altitudes, was able to outstrip its neighbors in economic progress and hence in political importance as well. By the end of the colonial period Salvadorians felt themselves to have outgrown their old-time rating as an *alcaldía mayor*, and were also vigorously agitating for a separate bishopric. Their territory was made a separate intendancy which, though smallest in area, had the greatest number of subdivisions. This bespeaks large amounts of taxable wealth and helps to explain the oft-expressed irritation at control of the treasury in Guatemala City. With the break-up of Spanish government, San Salvador was able to absorb

<sup>10</sup> *Constitución política de la Monarquía Española, promulgada en Cádiz a 19 de Marzo de 1812*, Articles 324-337; Rómulo E. Durón, *La Provincia de Tegucigalpa bajo el Gobierno de Mallof, 1817-1821* (Tegucigalpa, 1904), pp. 153-155; Fernández, *op. cit.*, X. 448-459, 512-515.

<sup>11</sup> *Mediation of the Honduran-Guatemalan Boundary Question, held under the good Offices of the Department of State, 1918-1919* (2 vols., Washington, 1919), I. 16.

its neighbor, Sonsonate, and to obtain recognition as a separate province.<sup>12</sup> This, with the loss of Chiapas and Soconusco, left a natural province (or state) of Guatemala with boundaries approximately as they are at present.

The name "Honduras" at first applied only to the coast settlements on the Gulf of Honduras which were ruled by a separate governor, and the *gobierno* of Comayagua comprised the highland population. But Tegucigalpa, also in the highland, thrived on mineral wealth, became the center of a separate *alcaldía mayor*, and after the removal of Spanish power, having completely outdistanced its rival city, Comayagua, eventually became the capital of Honduras. The coast settlements gave their name to the entire region, but with their climatic handicap they had little else to contribute. The center of gravity was in the mountain communities which, together with their ports, became an intendancy, and a province under the constitution of 1812.<sup>13</sup>

The valley of the great lakes made Nicaragua from the beginning a separate and important *gobierno*, and later an intendancy and a province. But its pride as well as its undoing was the possession of two cities of about equal size and importance with no other large enough to be a balancing force. León was the capital, the seat of the governor, intendant, and bishop. These officials were the dominant personalities of that city for its population was made up in the main of persons dependent in one way or another upon the government or its employees. The great creole families of Nicaragua lived mainly in Granada. That city, by reason of its location on the lake shore, enjoyed greater commercial advantages than León and more direct contact with Caribbean ports than any other city of the Central American highland. Besides these attractions, creoles undoubtedly preferred to live there because they enjoyed greater ease and freedom of action away from

<sup>12</sup> Juarros, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 206-207, 245 *et seq.*

<sup>13</sup> Juarros, *op. cit.*, pp. 331 *et seq.*



the seat of Spanish government. Between these two cities there was a latent rivalry which was greatly embittered by the quarrels of revolutionary days.<sup>14</sup>

The isolated position of Costa Rica and its surrounding mountains made it of necessity a separate political unit with a higher rating than its wealth and population alone would warrant. It was always regarded as the most poverty-stricken community, for which Costa Ricans blamed discriminatory commercial regulations imposed at the behest of the merchants in Guatemala. Its poverty is attested by the fact that in the intendancy system it was attached to Nicaragua without even being mentioned as a subdivision, though it retained its identity in political and military affairs. The precedent of subordination to Nicaragua was followed, much to the chagrin of the Costa Ricans, in the organization of provinces under the constitution of 1812. But geography favored a separate existence for Costa Rica and its people demanded it, together with a separate bishopric and freedom of trade. In time these ambitions were fully realized, though not until after independence.

Costa Rica also had its rival cities, for Cartago, the capital, was being overshadowed by its neighbor, San José. But both were jostled in their mountain arcadia by two other towns, Heredia and Alajuela, and all together formed a compact community that did not lend itself to territorial factions.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, by the end of the colonial period, the outlines of the five nations of today were quite discernible. Each one of the communities was conscious of its identity, and much more conscious of its own problems and ambitions than of any sentiment of Central American solidarity.

Yet of the whole, Guatemala City was undeniably the polit-

<sup>14</sup> José Dolores Gámez, *Historia de Nicaragua desde los Tiempos prehistóricos hasta 1860* (Managua, 1889), section on colonial history; León Fernández, *Historia de Costa Rica durante la Dominación Española* (Madrid, 1889), p. 481.

<sup>15</sup> Fernández, *Historia de Costa Rica*, *op. cit.*; Fernández, *Colección de Documentos*, *op. cit.*, III, 67, 68, 71, X, 212-213.

ical and cultural capital. It was the seat of the captaincy general and of the audiencia of the "Kingdom of Guatemala", of the archbishop for the same territory, of the only university in those provinces (San Carlos, dating from the seventeenth century), and of the first printing press, brought from Mexico in 1660.<sup>16</sup> There lived the Marqués de Aycinena and other creoles of the so-called nobility, as well as those on the lower rungs of the social ladder. There, also, dwelt the greatest number of European Spaniards, holding the center of political power. Both Spaniards and creoles in Guatemala, unconscious of the forces of local separatism that would be let loose with independence, expected nothing other than that their city would continue to hold its position and prestige in Central America.

Into the provinces thus divided within themselves came the agitation, at first feebly and secretly, for separation from Spain. Discontent because of Spanish trade restrictions was not a potent factor in Central American affairs for commerce was not a major industry there. But jealousy over the control of the government by European Spaniards was strong. This becomes most evident in the uprisings following the revolt in Spain against Napoleon.

Discontent with Spanish rule in the colonies as a whole was, of course, heightened by the examples of the revolt of the English colonies and the French Revolution. But when, following closely on the heels of these events, Spain itself revolted in the name of Ferdinand VII. against the usurpations of Napoleon, and Ferdinand in turn repudiated the government set up in his name, not only was the idea of revolt brought very close home, but the question was very properly asked—"To whom did the colonies now owe allegiance?" The answer of the already discontented creole spirits in various centers was a series of uprisings designed

<sup>16</sup> José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en Guatemala (1660-1881)* (Santiago, Chile, 1910).

to improve this opportunity to take local affairs into their own hands.

A wave of such uprisings occurred in Central America, beginning in San Salvador in 1811, and ultimately affecting every province.<sup>17</sup> Very little was said at this time of actual independence from Spain, but the immediate objective in each case, except that of Costa Rica, was the elimination of obnoxious Spanish-born officials. In the minds of certain leaders, independence was undoubtedly the ultimate goal, but for the immediate purpose of getting control of governmental machinery they found it safer to use the name of King Ferdinand VII. who was very popular with the masses, and who, being a prisoner in France, could not possibly do harm to them or their cause. Indeed, he was supposed at that time to be a liberal-minded prince.

Contemporaneous with the opening of these revolts, a new captain general, José Bustamante y Guerra, arrived in Guatemala. Although sent out by the liberal government of Spain and professing its principles, Bustamante believed in using ironhanded methods of repression for the preservation of order. He appears to have been a royalist of the absolute type who merely bowed to the necessity of the moment in accepting the ideals of self government as they were then being proclaimed in Spain.<sup>18</sup>

The various revolts and conspiracies were severally crushed or handled by diplomacy. The only net results were embittered feelings and a slight moral improvement in the position of the creoles. In San Salvador, Manuel José Arce,

<sup>17</sup> Francisco Gavidia, *Historia moderna de El Salvador* (1 vol. in two parts. San Salvador, n.d.). The entire work deals with the winning of independence and consists largely of quoted documentary material; Alejandro Marure, *Bosquejo histórico de las Revoluciones de Centro América, desde 1811 hasta 1834* (Guatemala, 1837), pp. 1-18; [Manuel Montúfar], *Memorias para la Historia de la Revolución de Centro América* (Jalapa, 1832), pp. 1-4; Tomás Ayón, *Apuntes sobre algunos de los Acontecimientos políticos de Nicaragua en los Años 1811-1824* (León, 1875), pp. 1-20.

<sup>18</sup> Gavidia, *op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 62-69.



who was later to become the first president of the Central American Federation, succeeded in perfecting an under-cover political organization which long remained a factor in local affairs. In Nicaragua, the manipulations of Bishop García Jérez secured amnesty for the revolters in León and thus regained their loyalty while those in Granada were severely punished. This was the first step toward bitterness of feeling between the two cities.

The failure of the revolts was due in part to Bustamante's repressive measures and in part to the popular habit of loyalty which was perhaps even stronger than the forces of discontent. But another important factor was the "constitution of 1812". This historic creation of the liberals in Spain came at the proper moment to act in Central America as a compromise measure. It offered the machinery of self government without independence.<sup>19</sup>

The constitution provided a limited monarchy for the Spanish Empire in which all distinction between Spain and its overseas possessions should be eliminated. The Spanish nation was declared to consist of all Spaniards in both hemispheres and all were to be represented on an equal basis in the national cortes. The machinery provided for the election of deputies was an interesting attempt to apply the principles of self government to a society in which the masses were ignorant and illiterate. It was so designed as to keep actual control in the hands of the upper classes but the selecting process began in the lowest levels. The political functions were made impressive by accompanying them with solemn religious rites. Most important for Central America, elective municipal governments were provided instead of the old self-perpetuating corporations, and added importance was given to the provinces by establishing for "each province" a local governing board. This served to whet the ambitions of provincial politicians and thus created another force for local autonomy and separatism.

<sup>19</sup> *Constitución política*, op. cit. Cf. Gavidia, op. cit., pt. I, p. 105.

Allegiance to the new constitution was solemnly sworn in all parts of Central America and the process of election, which lasted many months, was begun almost immediately. Naturally, it absorbed the attention of the public, though a conspiracy in Guatemala and a second revolt in San Salvador seemed still to register discontent. The local units of government were well under way with their functions and the election of deputies to the cortes was complete when the news came (1814) that Ferdinand VII. had been restored to his throne by the fall of Napoleon and that by a stroke of his pen he had abolished the constitution and reëstablished the old régime.<sup>20</sup>

This backward step was made possible by the general reactionary movement in both Europe and America of which it was a part. By 1814, the revolt in all Spanish America seemed to have worn itself out or been crushed. In Central America, Bustamante was firmly in the saddle and continued there for four years more. How much secret dissatisfaction there was with the restoration it is impossible to determine. At least, there was no open resistance, and except for added discontent because of the recent taste of self government, the *ancien régime* was fully restored. For the next half decade affairs moved outwardly about as they had always done under Spanish rule.

The year 1818 saw the departure of Captain General Bustamante, to be succeeded by Carlos Urrutia who was already an old man and, in contrast to his predecessor, weak and "easygoing".<sup>21</sup> Under his rule it again became possible for public opinion to assert itself. Meantime, events outside of Central America were turning opinion more and more in the direction of independence. In 1817 and 1818, San Martín crossed the Andes from Argentina and definitely established the independence of Chile. Nearer by, Bolívar in 1819 drove the Spanish army out of Bogotá and the Congress of Angos-

<sup>20</sup> Fernández, *Historia de Costa Rica*, op. cit., pp. 480 et seq.

<sup>21</sup> Marure, op. cit., p. 18.

tura created the republic of Gran Colombia. In southern Mexico, Guerrero was still carrying on a guerrilla warfare for independence.

Early in the summer of 1820, news arrived of the revolution in Spain which reëstablished the "constitution of 1812". Immediately the process began of setting up again the units of local government and of electing deputies to the Spanish cortes.<sup>22</sup> The constitution also guaranteed liberty of the press and under this protection a periodical publication, *El Editor Constitucional*, sprang up in Guatemala, openly advocating independence from Spain. The founder and editor was Doctor Pedro Molina, a distinguished creole physician and professor of medicine in the University of San Carlos. His doctrines, which were always of a radical nature, called forth a more conservative journalistic venture styled *El Amigo de la Patria* (*The Friend of the Fatherland*), the work of José Cecilio del Valle. Valle's arguments could not be called reactionary though they were in open opposition to those of Molina. Rather his plea was for caution and the gradual extension of popular government in harmony with the cultural development of society.<sup>23</sup>

The two men thus bidding for the popular mind quite typify the viewpoints of their respective social groups. Molina was of undistinguished family and not wealthy. He was captivated by the ideal of "government by the people" and saw no danger in putting it immediately into their hands. He, like other radical creoles, was wholly unexperienced in statecraft and regarded tyranny as the one great danger to be avoided in government. Valle, on the other hand, was heir to a family of great wealth and was educated among the dignitaries of the Spanish government in Guatemala. As a very young man he held prominent government positions there and was later recommended for appointment to one of the audien-

<sup>22</sup> Fernández, *Historia de Costa Rica*, op. cit., pp. 490-491; Durón, op. cit., p. 153.

<sup>23</sup> Durón, op. cit., pp. 156, 158-159, 162-164.



cias in Spain. However, he was a creole and his ideas of statesmanship centered in America rather than in Spain. He at first opposed independence and his thought was always conservative, as is the case with most men of great wealth and family distinction, but his career followed in a remarkable manner the repeated changes of government in Central America.<sup>24</sup>

There were many in Central America who at first, like Valle, were opposed to independence, but whose opinions changed with the progress of events elsewhere. Even Spaniards themselves could not but recognize that if independence was definitely established in adjoining colonies it would be folly for Central America to try to remain loyal.

Most important were the happenings in Mexico. In February, 1821, Iturbide, who had been sent by the viceroy against Guerrero, announced his famous Plan of Iguala. It proposed independence from Spain with a monarchical government under a Spanish prince, protection of the Catholic religion and priesthood, and equality between Spaniards and creoles. The popularity attained by this manifesto spread rapidly into Central America, and the progress of the "army of the three guarantees" was watched with as much interest there as in Mexico. With its military successes the opposition to independence lost ground, for ultimate triumph in Mexico would make Central American independence inevitable.

The radicals, impatient with the lingering opposition, sent a message to one of Iturbide's generals asking for military aid, but before the reply could arrive came the news that the municipality of Chiapas, at that time within the province of Guatemala, had declared its definite adherence to the Plan

<sup>24</sup> Rómulo E. Durón (ed.), *Obras de Don José Cecilio del Valle* (Tegucigalpa, 1914. Contains a biography by Ramón Rosa); *Revista de Costa Rica en el Siglo XIX* (San José, Costa Rica, 1902), pp. 227-228, 231-232; Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 87, 137-140 and *passim*; Ramón A. Salazar, *Historia de veintiún Años, la Independencia de Guatemala* (Guatemala, 1928, 1st ed. 1904), pp. 204-206.

of Iguala. Up to this time the resistance to independence had been headed by Gavino Gainza, to whom Urrutia had turned over the captaincy general. But Gainza was an opportunist who did not hesitate to change his policy when told by the independents that by so doing he might stay at the head of the government. He now called, on September 15, 1821, a *cabildo abierto* composed of all the officials and leading personalities in Guatemala City to decide what should be done.<sup>25</sup>

What small opposition there was in this gathering to an immediate declaration of independence was silenced by a cheering and hissing crowd which, in imitation of the Paris commune, had been mobilized by the advocates of independence. The next question was whether the oath of independence should be, like that of Chiapas, in adherence to the Plan of Iguala, which would have the effect of pledging Central American support for Iturbide and thus look toward annexation to Mexico, or should it be an unconditional declaration of independence from all outside powers. In this, also, the determining factor which forced an oath of absolute independence was the crowd.

However, in the official declaration which was signed the following day, the future status of Central America was left to be determined by a congress of representatives from all the provinces, to be elected in accordance with the machinery provided by the Spanish constitution, and to meet the following March. The government, in the meantime, was to continue in the hands of Gainza (now referred to as the *jefe político*) and an advisory commission. The Spanish constitution and laws were to be the basis of the temporary government.<sup>26</sup>

Nowhere in Central America was there any forcible opposition to independence. Even Spanish officials accepted it as

<sup>25</sup> Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-30; Montúfar, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-8; Rafael Heliodoro Valle (ed.), *La Anexión de Centro América a México (Documentos y Escritos de 1821-1822)* (2 vols., Mexico, 1924-1928), I, 4-13.

<sup>26</sup> Marure, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Document No. 1.

inevitable and many of them, either from sincere conviction or for personal advantage, followed the example of Gainza in carrying on with the independent government. Those who would not do this were advanced two months' salary and allowed to return to Spain. Possibly a war for independence would have welded the Central American provinces into a nation. As it was, the new ship of state was well nigh wrecked in the launching over the controversy foreshadowed in the *cabildo abierto* of Guatemala: namely, national independence *vs.* annexation to Mexico.

The popularity of the Plan of Iguala and Iturbide's military successes had committed Mexico to independence under that plan. Its success was largely due to the support of the conservative aristocracy in Mexico who preferred independence controlled by themselves to the liberal government of Spain which was now showing radical and anti-clerical tendencies. Iturbide's guarantee of the continuance of monarchy and the customary religious institutions, with the prospect of a government controlled entirely by the creole aristocracy, was exceedingly well designed to attract the most influential classes. This was quite different from the uprising of the masses under Hidalgo and Morelos, though both movements were ostensibly directed against the Spaniards.

To the same classes in Central America the Plan of Iguala made its appeal, especially to those who claimed high social ranks which monarchy would protect. Furthermore, its religious guarantees pleased large numbers in all classes who could not help associating independence with something like heresy. Of course it won the support of the clergy, with few exceptions. But there were members of the Central American upper classes to whom the idea of independent nationality had a much greater appeal than attachment to the Mexican monarchy. Some had been converted to the doctrines of republicanism on purely idealistic grounds; some saw greater futures for themselves as local demagogues than they could hope



for under monarchical institutions; others, such as commercial men, feared that a government in Mexico would not adequately and fairly promote the economic interests of Central America.

The question involved the two issues of nationalism *vs.* annexation, and republicanism *vs.* monarchy, and since Mexico was monarchistic, the nationalists were republican, or the republicans nationalist, as one might choose to phrase it. Both factions maneuvered for popular support although their opinions differed widely as to the part to be played by the masses in their respective schemes.<sup>27</sup> In places like Guatemala City where both points of view had powerful exponents, sentiment was divided, but in other centers the opinions of a few leading citizens usually determined the sentiment of the town and surrounding country. Hence the question rapidly took on a distinctly sectional aspect.

The captain general and cabildo of Guatemala had assumed in declaring unrestricted independence to speak for all the provinces, but in certain important centers their action was promptly and vigorously repudiated. In León and Comayagua, provincial capitals respectively of Nicaragua and Honduras, opinion was dominated by Spanish officialdom, and particularly by García Jérez, bishop of León. Opposing, but unable to prevent the separation from Spain, and jealous of Guatemalan prestige, the officials of both provinces gave vent to their resentment by denying the right of Guatemala to speak for all the provinces, opposing the proposed Central American congress, and declaring their immediate adherence to the Mexican Plan of Iguala.<sup>28</sup>

But the creole centers in both provinces, Granada and Tegucigalpa, were just as prompt in acclaiming the declaration made in Guatemala and repudiating the action of their

<sup>27</sup> Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>28</sup> Valle, *op. cit.*, I. 14-19; Vallejo, Antonio R., *Compendio de la Historia social y política de Honduras* (2nd ed. Tegucigalpa, 1911), pp. 108-109, 115, 123; Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35; Montúfar, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

respective provincial governments. Each city carried with it its immediate hinterland and soon the whole of both provinces was lined up in two hostile factions. León and Comayagua sought immediate recognition from Iturbide while Granada and Tegucigalpa took their cue from Gainza. The latter, in turn, in order to strengthen his own position, authorized the establishment in the two cities of provisional juntas to organize and govern the regions that supported the policies of Guatemala. Thus divided, the opposing factions armed themselves for defense, or for offence, and at the end of 1821 both provinces were on the verge of civil war.<sup>29</sup>

In Costa Rica, where loyalty to Spain was unquestioned, news of the declaration of independence in Guatemala came as a very disturbing shock to the peaceful life of the province. With it came also advices of the angry repudiation in León, the provincial capital of Costa Rica as well as of Nicaragua. Would the Costa Ricans follow the lead of their provincial government or that of the ancient "Kingdom of Guatemala"?

Popular antagonisms and jealousies which might influence the decision would probably be equally strong in both directions. Whatever opinions Costa Ricans might develop on theories of government, a question that hitherto had not troubled them, one patent fact was their own isolation from the active affairs of Central America. When once they had recovered from the shock of the news that, willy-nilly, they were independent from Spain, this fact determined them not to attempt an immediate decision but to hold temporarily aloof from the tempest of Central American politics. They set up a provisional government of their own and awaited developments. As the significance of the quarrel that was upsetting Central America became more apparent, a difference of sentiment began to develop between Cartago, the capital, and San José, its rival, and now the larger city, comparable to

<sup>29</sup> Jerónimo Pérez, *Biografía del Coronel Don Crisanto Sacasa* (Masaya, 1875), pp. 5-7; Valle, *op. cit.*, I. 44-45, 157-159; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-112, 236.

the divisions in other provinces. But more time was required for such a division to become a crisis.<sup>30</sup>

In the city of San Salvador, popular sentiment as controlled by Arce's political organization was mainly republican and nationalist, hence hearty assent was given there to the plan laid down in Guatemala. A local quarrel with the conservative and loyalist governor resulted in his removal and the appointment in his stead of Father José Matías Delgado, curate of the province and founder of Salvadorian republicanism, and until then a member of Gainza's advisory council. Some sections of the province declared for Mexican annexation but the capital city so overshadowed the others in every respect that the division did not become the immediate menace that similar ones were in Nicaragua and Honduras.<sup>31</sup>

In the province of Guatemala, the northern centers had fallen in line for Mexican annexation, and in the capital city the same policy was favored by a majority of Gainza's council and of the municipal authorities. As for Gainza himself, his guiding principle was the desire to hold his own position, either as head of an independent nation or as chief subordinate of the Mexican emperor.

But personal ambitions aside, the situation from the point of view of Gainza and his council was exceedingly complicated. A congress had been called to decide the future of Central America but only scattered portions of the provinces were pretending to respond to the call. If the congress met at all it would probably precipitate civil war. Gainza's voluble efforts to reconcile opposing factions were futile. A government so widely repudiated could not presume to decide the matter itself.

<sup>30</sup> Valle, *op. cit.*, I. 42-44, 65-67, 127-130, 141, 147-155; *Documentos posteriores a la Independencia* (San José, Costa Rica, 1923), pp. 55-56, 104-105; Ricardo Fernández Guardia, *La Independencia y otros Episodios* (San José, Costa Rica, 1928), pp. 7-40, 375-389; Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 76-77; Montúfar, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> Valle, *op. cit.*, I. 38-41, 121; Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37; Montúfar, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-121.



A letter from Iturbide, who was now in Mexico City and in control of the government (November, 1821), opened a way out of the dilemma. He was deeply interested, he wrote, in the future of Central America since he had heard of its declaration of independence, and he was sure that stability and security could be had only in union with Mexico, to which he therefore extended invitation. He avowed his desire to work in harmony with the will of the people, but announced that he had despatched a body of troops to Central America "to assure the maintenance of order and to protect the well-made plans of patriotic citizens".<sup>32</sup>

This called for some immediate action. Should the Mexican army be hailed as a savior or repelled as an invader? The evident purpose of its coming demanded a decision for or against Mexican annexation. Had the nationalistic spirit of later years been present, the very suggestion of the approach of a foreign army would have furnished a most effective rallying cry for national unity. But, far from viewing Iturbide and his soldiers as "foreigners", the most prominent personages in Guatemala City, including most of the government officials, were overjoyed at the prospect and joined in fêting and fawning before the bearer of the imperial message. Enough nationalistic and republican sentiment was present, however, to cause the messenger to request special protection for his person against danger of assassination.<sup>33</sup>

With sentiment thus divided in the capital and territorially throughout the provinces, Gainza and his council took the only course of action open to them, though it involved an unusual procedure. They appealed to the people through their municipal governments to decide at once for or against Mexican annexation. Each municipality was furnished with a copy of Iturbide's letter and instructed to call a *cabildo abierto* and make known its decision within thirty days.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Valle, *op. cit.*, I. 49-53.

<sup>33</sup> Valle, *op. cit.*, I. 103-106, 134; Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>34</sup> Valle, *op. cit.*, I. 101-103.

The *cabildo abierto* was the most democratic institution in Spanish usage. Called only on special occasions and for momentous decisions, it included the regular municipal officials plus all the prominent citizens, the clergy, and representatives of the plebs. Its inclusiveness varied with the size of the community but it was supposed to be representative of all social groups, though the representation was more apt to be in proportion to social rank than to numbers, and its members were invited rather than elected. Invitation of individuals was determined by the desire to avoid later objection to decisions, resulting from any influential group of citizens not having been consulted. The municipality, like the New England "town", included both the town and the surrounding country. The returns from a poll of the municipalities in *cabildo abierto* was as accurate an index of public sentiment as could be had on any given question. In fact there was no other practicable means of making an appeal to the people.

By the end of the thirty days allowed, replies from one hundred seventy out of two hundred thirty-seven municipalities were in the hands of Gainza's council. Of the one hundred seventy, one hundred four were for annexation according to Iturbide's letter, and eleven more proposed annexation with certain prescribed conditions. Thirty-two preferred to leave the decision to the provisional government in Guatemala. Twenty-one opposed immediate annexation by holding out for the congress as originally called to decide the matter, and two expressed opposition to annexation under any consideration.<sup>85</sup>

The report of the poll as published by Gainza did not give a list of the municipalities voting nor figures as to their relative size or importance. But the public was assured that the one hundred four voting unconditionally for annexation constituted an absolute majority of the population. Hence annex-

<sup>85</sup> Valle, *op. cit.*, I. 163-164, II, 23-27.

ation to Mexico was proclaimed, the people were pompously exhorted to begin enjoying the blessings of citizenship in a great American empire, and Gainza turned his attention to cultivating the favor of Iturbide.

The only active resistance to annexation as announced was in San Salvador and Granada. In the former, a bold but futile attempt was made to steal the Central American leadership from Guatemala and rally support for the carrying out of the original idea of a general congress.<sup>36</sup> It was only after subjection by force of Mexican arms that San Salvador accepted annexation and only the fall of Iturbide saved Granada from a similar conquest.<sup>37</sup>

Many Central American writers have treated the Mexican annexation with evident chagrin and have argued that it was fraudulently foisted upon the unwilling people. But viewed historically, it is not surprising that the majority in Central America should at that time favor annexation to Mexico, and there is nothing in it that Central Americans of today need regard as an unworthy episode in their history. Nationalism, far from being a popular passion, was then merely an ambition in the minds of a certain few men. Central Americans habitually thought of themselves as being overshadowed by the great neighboring viceroyalty, and there was much honest doubt as to the ability of so few people with such limited resources to maintain themselves as a nation. Viewed from the present, Central Americans may well congratulate themselves at not having had the troubles of Mexico to add to their own, but at that time no one of ordinary foresight could have predicted the ignominious collapse of Iturbide's empire. Indeed, had he possessed the qualities of the Brazilian Pedro II., history in Mexico and Central America might have run a course very different from the story we now know.

The Mexican army came on to Guatemala and Gainza was

<sup>36</sup> Valle, *op. cit.*, I. 160-162.

<sup>37</sup> See *post*, note 38.



replaced in the captaincy general by its commander, Vicente Filísola. Filísola made a sincere and patient attempt to win the peaceable annexation of San Salvador and its adherent territory, but failing in this he proceeded at the command of Iturbide, now Emperor Agustín I., to secure it by conquest.<sup>38</sup> This accomplished early in 1823 and the republican leaders of El Salvador in flight or captivity, Filísola had not time to turn his attention elsewhere before news arrived of the overthrow of the Mexican Empire by republican revolutionists. He hastily returned to Guatemala City, announced the new situation in a proclamation to the provinces, and called a congress of representatives as originally planned in 1821 to decide the future of Central America.<sup>39</sup>

The Mexican débâcle served to discredit both annexation and monarchy. Hence the congress which convened in Guatemala City in June, 1823, was dominated by nationalists and republicans of radical tendencies. All provinces were ultimately represented for even those sections that had been violently pro-Mexican could not do other than respond to the call. Some nationalist localities refused to send representatives until Filísola had retired with his Mexican troops. The congress decreed absolute independence under the name of the *Provincias Unidas del Centro de América*, and proceeded to

<sup>38</sup> In an attempt to prevent invasion, the Salvadorian congress voted a decree (November 22, 1822) annexing the province to the United States of North America. The imperial army was about to attack the city and the main purpose of the move was undoubtedly to buoy up the courage of the populace with the notion that republican United States would save them from monarchical Mexico. In fact a rumor was spread to the effect that an American expedition of 1500 men was already on the way. (Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64). It is not to be supposed that the Salvadorian leaders seriously anticipated actual incorporation into the American Union. The ruse did not frighten Filísola nor delay the conquest. (Valle, *op. cit.*, II. 400-404, 412-416, 420-422.) For a complete account of the conquest of San Salvador, see Valle, *op. cit.*, II. 204-206 and *passim*; Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-71; Montúfar, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-18.

<sup>39</sup> C. Matías Romero, *Bosquejo histórico de la Agregación a México de Chiapas y Soconusco* (Mexico, 1877), pp. 170-179.

discuss the financial problems and form of government for the new nation.<sup>40</sup>

Many embarrassing delays were encountered by the new government, not the least of which was continuing strife in Nicaragua. Indeed, the Nicaraguan nation of today largely inherits its lack of equilibrium from the confusing days of the separation from Spain and Mexico.

The latent rivalry of colonial days between the creole city of Granada and the provincial capital, León, was deepened into bitterness, first by the aftermath of revolution in 1812, and again by the question of annexation to Mexico. By the time of the fall of Iturbide, armed factions had been facing each other for many months. The governor, Saravia, had made one attempt to subdue the republicans of Granada and was preparing for a second attack when the news of the imperial collapse produced a republican uprising in León and Saravia was forced to flee.

But the provincial unity which one might then have expected, and which was achieved in Honduras and San Salvador, was not to be in Nicaragua. Perhaps there was greater sophistication among the lower classes in Nicaragua because of their more direct trading contacts with the outside world, or perhaps a combination of personalities was mainly responsible. At any rate there was very shortly a realignment of factions and Nicaragua was plunged into a social revolution.<sup>41</sup>

Crisanto Sacasa, head of an old and wealthy family, owner of great ranches and large commercial enterprises, was undisputed *caudillo* and commander of anti-Mexican Granada until he was supplanted and imprisoned by his protégé, Cleto Ordoñez, a fiery product of the lower classes. Under Ordoñez's forceful leadership attention was turned to social grievances as well as to the remoter notions of republicanism,

<sup>40</sup> Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-89; Romero, *op. cit.*, pp. 261 *et seq.*

<sup>41</sup> Ayón, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-50; Pérez, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-18; Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-119, 150-162; Montúfar, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31; Gámez, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-370.

and although he did not stoop to enrich himself by plunder, his angry mobs were unloosed upon the wealth of Granada.

The revolutionists of León made futile attempts to unify the province but at length they fell in line with the Ordoñez faction. The upper classes of both cities took refuge in Masaya where they organized in the hope of reconquering their position and property. Sacasa escaped from prison and joined his fellows there. Sacasa and Bishop García Jérez, erstwhile bitter enemies, now found themselves companions in distress and joint leaders in the attempt to restore their fallen régime.

A disastrous struggle between these social groups centered in its final phase in a siege of León in which Sacasa was killed but neither side was able to score a victory. Various attempts by the young federal government in Guatemala to effect a settlement ended in nothing. Finally, near the end of 1824, Manuel José Arce entered the territory at the head of Salvadorian troops, determined to pacify the province. The coming of a new force under a man who enjoyed the respect of moderate liberals everywhere, brought the stalemate war to a close. Most of the factional leaders had already been eliminated and Ordoñez was given a position with the federal government in Guatemala. The province was then able peaceably to complete its organization as a state in the federal system.

Although outwardly peace returned to Nicaragua, there was no strong arm to maintain it, and the causes of disorder were strengthened rather than removed. Unbridled civil warfare had laid waste the wealth of the province, had made the law of the trigger the common law of the land, and had created a class consciousness with embittered hatreds. Nor had the inter-city jealousy been removed. The "old families" returned to Granada to recoup their losses slowly and to make their city the center of wealth and "conservatism", while the "liberalism" of the middle and lower classes found free development and self expression in León. Thus the stage was



set for the sectional politics which have made for permanently unstable equilibrium in Nicaragua.

In Costa Rica also the quarrel over republicanism and Mexican monarchy reached the point of civil war, but there the homogeneous white population contained none of the conditions that could turn such political troubles into a social conflict. Furthermore, republican San José had so far outgrown the monarchistic capital, Cartago, as to be able to defeat completely her rival, both at the polls and in battle. Hence the capital was removed to San José and the way was paved for permanent stability.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, the national congressmen in Guatemala were patiently laying the foundations for what they expected would be a united Central American nation. A temporary plural executive was provided, an international loan authorized, and the preliminary bases for a national constitution announced.<sup>43</sup>

The adoption of the federal principle, as opposed to a unitary state, occasioned one of the most heated debates. Centralism was favored by the proponents of a vigorous government by "the rich, the well born, and the able" and its advocates were in large measure the same men who had favored monarchy and Mexican annexation. Federalism, on the other hand, was regarded as the bulwark of democracy, and its most ardent advocates were, like Dr. Molina of Guatemala and Father Delgado of San Salvador, men whose idealism was unhampered by wealth or family connections and who from the beginning had worked for independence from Spain and from Mexico and for republican nationalism.

On both sides, however, it was recognized that Central America was not a unified body politic but a group of five bodies. Federalism was adopted, not merely because its ad-

<sup>42</sup> Fernández Guardia, *La Independencia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-144, 375-410; Valle, *op. cit.*, II. 314-320.

<sup>43</sup> Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-150; G. A. Thompson, *Narrative of an official Visit to Guatemala from Mexico* (London, 1829), pp. 266, 469-480.

vocates were in the majority, but also because, as they pointed out, no other scheme would be accepted by the provinces.<sup>44</sup>

The federal constitution was completed late in 1824, and early the following year the congress gave way to the bicameral body for which it had made provision. In structure the government was modeled very closely after that of the United States, even to the manner of electing the president, but one essential difference was that exclusive power of taxation was reserved to the states—another evidence of the strong decentralizing forces. The federal government was left, like the first United States congress, to depend for its funds upon requisitions on the states. The election of the first constitutional president was completed on April 21, 1825, and the new government was launched under apparently auspicious circumstances. The five provinces had already completed their organization as states.<sup>45</sup>

But within a year and a half the country was engulfed in a civil war, which grew partly out of partisan bitterness between liberal idealists and conservatives whose monarchistic leanings had won them the nickname of "serviles", and partly out of state resentment of the authority exercised by the federal president. To follow in detail the decade and a half of precarious confederate life would be to prolong unnecessarily a study of national origins. The story is one of steady disintegration because, in a word, the centrifugal forces were stronger than the centripetal ones.<sup>46</sup>

In the matter of products the states were in no sense interdependent, hence no strong trading interests tended to bind them together. Means of intercommunication had not been developed, and each of the five centers of population was so located that contact with the sea, and therefore with world

<sup>44</sup> Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-132, 166-173; Montúfar, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-32.

<sup>45</sup> Marure, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-178, 208-212; Montúfar, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41.

<sup>46</sup> Marure, *op. cit.*, Chap. 6 *et seq.*; Montúfar, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 *et seq.*; Manuel José Arce, *Memoria de la Conducta pública y administrativa de Manuel José Arce durante el Período de su Presidencia* (Mexico, 1830).

trade, was, however difficult, easier and more attractive than with the immediate neighbors. The respective capitals were in most cases in closer touch with New York, Paris, and London than with each other.<sup>47</sup>

There was, indeed, popular sentiment for national unity in the form of a general concensus of opinion that Central America should form one nation, but the localism of provincial people was stronger, and the ideas of popular local sovereignty as written into the constitution did not help the cause of centralization. Had the wealthy and conservative classes not been discredited by Mexican annexation and had they been able to establish a strong, centralized government, there is at least a speculative possibility that the nation might have been held together until the tide of influences turned in its favor.

There was at the time of the founding of the confederation almost no demand in the provinces for local independence. Even Costa Ricans, conscious of their isolation and aloof from Mexican and Central American affairs, scarcely mentioned the possibility of nationality for themselves. The alternative in their minds was rather annexation to their other neighbor, the republic of Gran Colombia. It was only as the Central American government gradually disintegrated that the various states acquired the self confidence to assume national independence.

In 1838, the federal congress was so convinced of the failure of the union that it notified the states that they were free to constitute themselves as they might choose, advising them to retain representative republicanism. Soon after, the federal government ceased to exist. The forces working for a larger unity having failed, the states became what their local environment had always tended to make them—separate and independent peoples.

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<sup>47</sup> I am assured by prominent Central Americans that this is even still the case.



## BERNARDO DE GALVEZ AND THE ENGLISH SMUGGLERS ON THE MISSISSIPPI, 1777

On the night of April 17, 1777, Governor Bernardo de Gálvez astounded the British merchants of New Orleans by seizing eleven boats engaged in the contraband trade. This action was followed next day by a proclamation ordering all British subjects to leave Louisiana within a fortnight.<sup>1</sup> Writers have made conjectures relative to the details of this incident, but beyond the bare fact of the seizures practically nothing has been known. The present paper, based on documents in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, throws some light on the motives which persuaded Gálvez to take such vigorous action, on the negotiations of the British to secure the release of the confiscated property, and on the circumstances which induced Gálvez to countenance illicit trade once more.

In order to place this incident in its proper setting, it seems advisable to give a brief summary of the trade relations of Louisiana in the years immediately preceding. By 1777, contraband trade with the English, especially the American English, had become a habit with the Louisianians, and a privilege which they cherished dearly. The practice had its beginning before the termination of French control of the colony. Indeed, the importation of meal from New England was a custom so well established that Foucault, the French commissary, wrote in 1766 that English ships

*had always* been of great assistance, by furnishing us with flour, of which their cargoes were generally composed.<sup>2</sup>

And after the English established themselves at Natchez and Manchac, contraband trade became so common that the

<sup>1</sup> British merchants of New Orleans to Lloyd, April 26, 1777. *Archivo General de Indias* at Seville, *Papeles Procedentes de Cuba*, Legajo 188, part 3. (Henceforth cited *A. G. I., Cuba*, 188.3.)

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, II. 171 (*italics mine*).

phrase, "going to Little Manchac", was coined to denote smuggling.<sup>3</sup>

Ulloa's arrival, in 1766, as the first Spanish governor, did not alter trade conditions appreciably. He was too weakly supported with troops, and he became too unpopular with the colonists to risk assuming complete control of Louisiana. Perforce he left most authority in the hands of Aubry, who had been acting governor for France. Limited restrictions on commerce were announced by Ulloa and Aubry, on September 6, 1766, but the New Orleans merchants and the captains of vessels then in the river criticized the regulation so severely that Aubry promised unofficially not to enforce it.<sup>4</sup> Ulloa was not in position to insist. Aubry's verbal revocation of the ordinance, however, gave no real security; several merchants ordered their import shipments suspended. Ulloa did not interfere directly with the contraband trade, but the uncertainty and the prospect of stringent Spanish restrictions in the near future caused a marked decline. Foucault wrote, later in the year:

For several months past, there have come but few French ships, and none belonging to the English.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, English traders resided openly at New Orleans and English ships utilized their privilege of ascending the Mississippi through Louisiana to carry on illicit trade with the people of the colony.

According to one account the insurrection against Ulloa, in October, 1768, was the result of news received on the 28th of that month to the effect that Louisiana's trade with foreign powers was to be forbidden forthwith.<sup>6</sup> This explanation of

<sup>3</sup> Phelps, *Louisiana*, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, II. 168-171. Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dérnières Années de la Louisiane Française*, pp. 236-238.

<sup>5</sup> Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, II. 171.

<sup>6</sup> Brown, "Anglo-Spanish Relations in America", in *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V. 348. Based on letters of Aubry to the French minister, November 28 and December 28, 1768; and on a rather remote source, a conver-

the insurrection and the expulsion of Governor Ulloa might be questioned on the ground that a multiplicity of causes had been at work.<sup>7</sup> It may be questioned more seriously on the score that the conspiracy against Ulloa had been operative for quite a long time, and that the actual outbreak began on October 27, the day before news of the more stringent commercial policy was received in the colony.<sup>8</sup> Resentment at the prospect of Spanish restrictions on commerce, however, was unmistakably one of the causes of the insurrection, and if we are to judge by the space devoted to protests against trade regulations in the first official pronouncement of the insurrectionists, it was a very important cause.<sup>9</sup> Louisiana prized its foreign trade, illicit though it was.

For almost a year after the expulsion of Ulloa, English traders were unmolested in New Orleans, being restrained only by the uncertainty concerning Spain's future attitude toward the recalcitrant colony. In August, 1769, this uncertainty ended when General Alexandro O'Reilly with three thousand of Spain's best soldiers arrived at New Orleans to assert Spanish control. His punishment of the insurrectionists, his administrative reforms, and other measures need not detain us from considering his commercial policy. His instructions were to reorganize the colony along Spanish lines. So far as commerce was concerned, this meant no radical change from the letter of the French law. Both France and

sation between Grimaldi and the British minister at Madrid, in February, 1769. " . . . The new Spanish regulations have been the cause of this violent step which gave such general dissatisfaction to the inhabitants that they determined not to submit to them. . . . Upon asking Grimaldi . . . what were the regulations the French objected to, he told me the putting New Orleans upon the same footing with other Spanish ports in America by excluding all foreign vessels." *Ibid.*, footnotes 32, 34.

<sup>7</sup> *E.g.*, Ulloa's insufficient military retinue, his failure to enlist the French troops, his suppression of the paper currency, his aloofness, his unpopular marriage. For an extended account see Gayarré, *ut supra*, II, 158-209.

<sup>8</sup> Gayarré, *ut supra*, II, 186-189.

<sup>9</sup> "Decree of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana, October 29, 1768", in Gayarré, *ut supra*, II, Appendix, 365-379.



Spain and, for that matter, all Europe stood committed to the mercantilist theory, and their trade regulations aimed at an exclusive policy. But O'Reilly did effect a tremendous increase in the actual enforcement of mercantilism. He ordered all English merchants expelled from New Orleans.<sup>10</sup> He also adopted a severer interpretation of the British right to navigate the Mississippi. The British were not to be allowed to "anchor in port or to cross plank on shore without the governor's permission".<sup>11</sup> O'Reilly's purpose, of course, was to prevent smuggling from vessels proceeding through Spanish territory to Manchac and Natchez, but since "warping and tacking" was the only feasible means of ascending the river, his order practically annulled the English right to navigate the river.<sup>12</sup>

While O'Reilly remained, smuggling was distinctly on the wane. And yet it is a mistake to think that trade with the English was done away with absolutely or that the interruption was of long duration. At least one Anglo-American merchant, Oliver Pollock, was not expelled from New Orleans because he had ingratiated himself with O'Reilly by declining to profiteer on a shipload of flour when New Orleans was suffering a shortage.<sup>13</sup> Then too, though O'Reilly was enough of a soldier to believe that the laws for the colony should be enforced he was not entirely in sympathy with them.<sup>14</sup> Fi-

<sup>10</sup> O'Reilly to Arriaga, October 17, 1769. No. 4. *A. G. I., Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, 80-1-7.

<sup>11</sup> O'Reilly to Browne, September 24, 1769. Quoted in Brown, "Anglo-Spanish Relations in America", in *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V. 370-371, footnote 93.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 370.

<sup>13</sup> Owing to the shortage flour was quoted at twenty dollars a barrel when Pollock arrived with a shipload from Baltimore. He offered the cargo to O'Reilly at his own price, but the latter insisted on paying fifteen dollars a barrel. Reporting the transaction to the king, O'Reilly recommended that Pollock be allowed free entry to New Orleans thenceforth. Phelps, *Louisiana*, p. 131.

<sup>14</sup> Recognizing that trade with Spain alone would not prosper Louisiana, he recommended that the port of Havana be opened to Louisiana commerce, and he ordered logbooks prepared indicating the best summer and winter courses to

nally, O'Reilly remained in Louisiana only a few months, and when he departed with most of the troops smuggling was renewed.

During Unzaga's easy-going governorship, 1770-1777, the English secured once more a virtual monopoly of Louisiana's commerce. Practically all of the \$700,000 that the Louisianians mustered annually to pay for imported goods found its way into British hands.<sup>15</sup> According to Navarro, the British

built a dock on land in order to facilitate the passage of the floating warehouses of their vessels.<sup>16</sup>

Unzaga was obliged, of course, to make a pretense of preventing smuggling. He reported the activities of the British to his superiors.<sup>17</sup> Occasionally, action was brought against an over-bold English smuggler, as in the case of Joseph Nach, in 1774,<sup>18</sup> but such actions were perfunctory and did not interfere materially with British activities.<sup>19</sup> Spain's minister of the Indies enjoined greater vigilance in the suppression of smuggling, which is in itself an indication that the contraband trade had attained considerable proportions.<sup>20</sup>

Havana. O'Reilly to Arriaga, October 17, 1769. No. 4. *A. G. I., Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, 80-1-7. Gayarré, *ut supra*, III. 26-28.

<sup>15</sup> Martin, *A History of Louisiana*, II. 26-27.

<sup>16</sup> Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France and the United States*, I. 246.

<sup>17</sup> Unzaga to Bucarely, January 22, 1771. "Estas pequeñas embarcaciones quo de tiempo en tiempo pasan por delante de esta ciudad con pretexto de hir a sus puestos de Machac y Naches no tienen otro objeto que el del comercio que pueden hacer en este Rio. . . ." *A. G. I., Cuba*, 1055.

<sup>18</sup> Unzaga to Arriaga, September 7, 1774. No. 127. *A. G. I., Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, 86-7-19.

<sup>19</sup> Fortier, *A History of Louisiana*, II. 38-40.

<sup>20</sup> "Sin embargo de anteriormente se ha adbertido a V S. no permita comercio alguno de esa Provincia con el Guarico ni otro puerto extranjero, me manda el Rey encargar a V S. de nueba emplee la mayor vigilancia y exactitud para que de ninguna manera se contrabenga a la absoluta prohibicion de Comercio que quiere S. M. tenga esa Provincia con todos los Dominios Extrangeros". Arriaga to the Governor of Louisiana, May 20, 1771. No. 54. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 174. See also Bouligny's account of the commerce of Louisiana, 1776, in Fortier, *ut supra*, II. 37-40, 42-46.

Governor Bernardo de Gálvez, Unzaga's successor, did nothing in the first months of his term as governor to interrupt the traffic with the British. According to their own affirmation,

British subjects here were treated with the greatest indulgence; every privilege we could wish for was on the slightest application granted.<sup>21</sup>

Why, then, did Gálvez suddenly reverse his attitude toward the smugglers by seizing eleven of their boats? There were several reasons. There was the new commercial regulation, published in Louisiana in January, 1777, permitting trade with France and the French colonies under very moderate restrictions.<sup>22</sup> The new regulations, even if strictly enforced, would have diverted much of Louisiana's trade from the English to the French. Governor Gálvez went further, interpreting the convention liberally, making the inspections of cargoes perfunctory, and permitting French ships to load anywhere on the river instead of just at New Orleans, with the result that the French commissioners could report, as early as March 30, that trade between Louisiana and the French islands was waxing very prosperous.<sup>23</sup> The next logical step in the process of substituting French commerce for British was to strike directly at the latter.

Another possible cause for the confiscations was the instructions Gálvez had received as he assumed the governorship of the colony. Included among them was a strict injunction to stop the contraband trade on the Mississippi.<sup>24</sup> While these

<sup>21</sup> British merchants of New Orleans to Lloyd, April 26, 1777. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 188-3.

<sup>22</sup> Bernardo de Gálvez to José de Gálvez, January 28, 1777. No. 4. Draft. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 223c. Gayarré, *ut supra*, III. 106.

<sup>23</sup> "The facilities granted by M. de Galvez to the trade between Louisiana and the French islands, and also the liberal interpretations given by him to the clauses of the treaty, have revived the industry and activity of the merchants and planters, and opened a brilliant prospect to the colony". Quoted in Gayarré, *ut supra*, III. 106.

<sup>24</sup> José de Gálvez to Bernardo de Gálvez, November 25, 1776. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 174. Especially paragraphs 7 and 8.



orders were no more preëmtory than previous ones to Governor Unzaga,<sup>25</sup> it must be recalled that in temperament the new governor was very different from his mild and conciliatory predecessor. And yet, if the confiscations were owing to the administrative zeal of Gálvez in carrying out the royal instructions, it is difficult to explain why action was delayed until April 17. Official orders appear not to have been the immediate cause. According to the reason given by an Englishman,

Since no ships have arrived from Spain, he [Gálvez] must not have been ordered to make the seizures.<sup>26</sup>

In his report to the king, Gálvez explained his actions in the following terms:

I had slight hopes of being able to confiscate the English boats engaged in illicit commerce on this river. Because their merchandise is of better quality than ours for trade with the Indians, who are so accustomed to French and English goods, and since the inhabitants are deeply interested in protecting them with great secrecy, I could not believe that the natives would ever appear as accusers to their own disadvantage. But because an English ship of war seized three of our boats, which were bringing tar from their land to send from here to Havana, the people began to clamor against this inconsiderate and ungrateful nation, which through the free navigation of the river has obtained the best products of this province. Their resentment showed me that it would be possible to find accusers, though without this occurrence it would have been impossible, and in fact, taking advantage of the coincidence, I took the most energetic measures to manifest to his Majesty the willingness that I have pledged in fulfillment of his royal orders. Within twenty-four hours after the three mentioned boats of ours had been taken, I confiscated eleven which were employed in the contraband trade in this jurisdiction, and although most of these are entirely useless for navigation, and only serve to

<sup>25</sup> José de Gálvez to Governor of Louisiana, September 15, 1776. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 174. Arriaga to the Governor of Louisiana, May 20, 1771. No. 54. *Ibid.* Quoted in note 20, above.

<sup>26</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American Manuscripts*, I. 112-113.

store goods which have not a quick sale, nevertheless I have dealt them a blow which not only has thrown them into a panic, but which, I believe, is such that for some time they will not think of returning to carry on their clandestine commerce.<sup>27</sup>

In short, Gálvez explained that the violence done by the British frigate *West Florida* was merely a convenient pretext, upon which he could gratify his long-cherished desire to enforce the king's regulation against smuggling. But the British inclined to the opinion that the *West Florida* insult was the whole cause, one Pensacola officer writing that Gálvez made the seizures in anger over this incident, and that later he was sorry but could not revoke his proclamation.<sup>28</sup> One cannot be certain which of these two explanations is the true one, the motive of administrative zeal or of personal pique, but since some three months of his governorship elapsed before he took any action against the smugglers, administrative zeal does not seem to have been the whole cause.

Very shortly after the confiscation of the smugglers' boats the British frigate *Atlanta*, captained by Thomas Lloyd, arrived in the Mississippi on the way to the British posts at Manchac and Baton Rouge. While still seven leagues below New Orleans, Lloyd addressed a polite letter of protest to Gálvez anent the recent confiscations.<sup>29</sup> By way of reply Gálvez reproached Lloyd for interference with Spanish shipping on the Mississippi. On the evening of April 21, according to the testimony of a passenger, the French boat *Margarita* and the Spanish boat *Marie* were stopped by the *Atlanta*, two

<sup>27</sup> Bernardo de Gálvez to José de Gálvez, May 12, 1777. No. 40. A. G. I., *Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, 2596.

<sup>28</sup> Stiell to Howe, June 3, 1777. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American Manuscripts*, I. 115-116.

<sup>29</sup> "On my arriving in the River, to my great Surprise heard that you had seized the Vessels belonging to his Britannick Maj's. Subjects, and put the Masters with their Crews in confinement, I must Beg that your Excellency will give me your reasons for this unexpected proceeding, as it is my duty (having the Honour to Command one of His Majs. Ships of War) to inquire into the particulars, that His Subjects may get redress." Lloyd to Gálvez, April, 1777, A. G. I., *Cuba*, 188-3.

loaded cannon being fired at the *Marie*. The *Margarita* was boarded "with pistols and sabres", and both boats were detained some time.<sup>30</sup> Lloyd replied to the governor that he suspected that the boats belonged to the rebels and that after discovering his error he allowed them to proceed.<sup>31</sup>

Several letters were exchanged concerning the confiscations. While thanking Gálvez for his friendship and for past favors to the British, Lloyd pointed out that the treaty of 1763 permitted the British ships to navigate the Mississippi, and he claimed that they were "exempt from Visitation".<sup>32</sup> The Spanish governor admitted that navigation of the Mississippi was permissible, but not contraband trade. He made much of the fact that the vessels seized were tied to the Spanish shore, and reminded Lloyd that two of the eleven boats seized were American, not British.<sup>33</sup>

Nevertheless, Gálvez realized that he was in an awkward predicament. He boasted to the captain general of Cuba,

I received them with match in hand, not to allow any violence, and I believe that this precaution is what checked them.

In the next breath, though, he added,

But I have been assured that they have requested another frigate from Pensacola, doubtless with the hope of undertaking with stronger forces that which they do not dare alone.

And realizing that two frigates would almost suffice for the capture of his capital, Gálvez concluded his letter with an appeal for reënforcements, both naval and military.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Gálvez to Lloyd, April 26, 1777. Draft. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 188-3. Affidavit of James Willing before Gálvez, April 25, 1777. *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Lloyd to Gálvez, April, 1777. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 188-3.

<sup>32</sup> Lloyd to Gálvez, May 4, 1777. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 188-3. O'Reilly had limited this right of navigation very seriously, however, and although Great Britain had protested, the Spanish government had approved his policy. Brown, "Anglo-Spanish Relations in America", in *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V. 370-371.

<sup>33</sup> Gálvez to Lloyd, May, 1777. Draft. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 188-3.

<sup>34</sup> Gálvez to La Torr , May 6, 1777. No. 261. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 1146.



On May 12, the fears of Governor Gálvez were alleviated unexpectedly when Lloyd departed from New Orleans, sending a letter with the word that he was going to investigate the report of an American privateer at the mouth of the Mississippi.<sup>35</sup>

Although Lloyd might explain his departure by the appearance of the American privateer, and though Gálvez might claim that his determined stand "with match in hand" had dissuaded the British commander from making more strenuous protests, some of the credit for the peaceful termination of Lloyd's visit should go to the British merchants of New Orleans, who had advised Lloyd as follows:

We had the honor to receive your letter 24th Instant, informing us of the motive of your voyage hither, and requiring us to wait on you in order to communicate the particulars of the late Seizure of the British vessells in this river.

In the fear of offending his Excellency the Spanish Governor, we must decline at present the Honor of waiting on you, but shall lay before you a brief narrative of the matter.

From the time that the present Governor The Count De Galvez, took possession of his Government, the British subjects here were treated with the greatest indulgence; every priviledge we could wish for, was on the Slightest application granted to us and from the known Generosity & humanity of that Gentleman we had reason to hope for a long duration of these advantages.

It was therefore with much surprise that on the night of the 17th Instant we found the British Vessells seized on, and a proclamation issued out next day ordering all British subjects to quit the Spanish territories in fifteen days.

It appears that the Governor was induced to proceed to these extremities by the Seizure of a small Schooner and two Canoes in Lake Pontchertrain by His Majestys Armed Schooner the West Florida.

"My duty requires me to leave you so abruptly, having received more information last night, which obliges me to drop down the River to receive one of the Privateers belonging to His Brittanick Majs. Rebellious Subjects, I am informed that she is now in the Mississippi and mounts thirty Six Guns, called the Columbus commanded by one Barry. It is the Vessel that you mentioned to me yesterday of her being an English Frigate." Lloyd to Gálvez, May 12, 1777. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 188-3.

These it seems were said to be Spanish property, and he accordingly resented the act as an insult to his nation. Whether they were really Spanish property, or that the matter was misrepresented to him, we are yet uncertain.

At any rate the Governor considers the Seizure of that Craft which had nothing on board save a few Barrells of tar as an ungenerous act, the advantages reaped by the English in consequence of his indulgence being out of all proportion to the trivial benefit his province received by drawing its Tar from the English Lands.

The Masters and Crews of the Vessells are in prison and their tryal is now carrying on. Several of the Vessells will probably be Condemned, supposing to have committed Acts of Contraband, but some of them have circumstances greatly in their favour, and against which nothing can be urged, save their having a plank or Stage from the Gunnell to the shore, a matter which in the tryal is said to be regarded as of much consequence. In other respects the Governor has relaxed from the Severity we were threatened with, and has consented to our Staying with the usual priviledges for the collection of our Debts and settlement of our Affairs, and indeed in every other particular seems to be inclinable to put matters on their ancient footing.<sup>36</sup>

It is from the Confiscation of the Vessells alone that any loss is to be dreaded; on that subject you will probably be applied to by the individuals who suffer, in that case, should you think it necessary to interfere, we beg leave to recommend to you moderate measures, for it is in the power of Mr. Galvez to hurt the British Merchants here far beyond the value of the Shipping seized.<sup>37</sup>

The departure of the *Atlanta* was not quite the end of the matter. The owners of the two American ships confiscated asked special consideration, "since the subjects of those provinces are so highly favored by our sovereign in their actual revolution".<sup>38</sup> Gálvez replied that commerce was "prohib-

<sup>36</sup> From this action I infer that in making the seizures Gálvez was motivated somewhat less by administrative zeal than would appear from his report to José de Gálvez (see above). The confiscations, in my opinion, were an impetuous act which Gálvez sought to justify on the basis of Spain's exclusive policy.

<sup>37</sup> British merchants of New Orleans to Lloyd, April 26, 1777. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 188-3.

<sup>38</sup> Bernardo de Gálvez to José de Gálvez, May 12, 1777. No. 40. *A. G. I., Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, 2596.

ited as much for them as for the European English", but promised to submit the matter to the king for his consideration.<sup>39</sup> According to Gayarré, these American boats were secretly released after a short while.<sup>40</sup>

In August, two commissioners from Pensacola appeared in New Orleans to intercede for the British merchants. Their arguments were those of Lloyd elaborated. They claimed that the seizures of the British boat crews were illegal, they being not amenable to Spanish contraband laws because of the right of British ships to navigate the Mississippi. They objected also to the Spanish method of taking testimony in jail, alleging that some of the sailors had sworn falsely in order to get out of prison with their personal effects. They insisted that Spanish officials had no right to search English vessels, even though they were moored to the Spanish bank.<sup>41</sup>

Their protests were fruitless. Just two days after the commissioners lodged their complaints at New Orleans, the Spanish court approved Gálvez's confiscations.<sup>42</sup> Patrick Morgan, owner of one of the vessels, petitioned the king for its release on the ground that he was a resident of New Orleans and merely had commercial relations with a London firm. But the *fiscal*, to whom the question was referred, thought this even worse.<sup>43</sup> Ten years later the question of the seizures was reviewed by the council of the Indies, but no action was taken in favor of the British merchants.<sup>44</sup>

In the meantime, Gálvez obligingly reclosed his eyes to the British smuggling, and trade was resumed "on its ancient

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Gayarré, *ut supra*, III. 107.

<sup>41</sup> Alexander Dickson and Stephenson to Gálvez, August 2, and August 17, 1777. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 188-3.

<sup>42</sup> José de Gálvez to Bernardo de Gálvez, August 19, 1777. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 174.

<sup>43</sup> Respuesta del Sor. Fiscal, November 21, 1779. Copy. *A. G. I., Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, 2652.

<sup>44</sup> *A. G. I., Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, 2652. This entire *legajo* concerns Gálvez's confiscations. There are *testimonios* concerning the vessels of "Juan Wauk, Norton, Juan Cambel, P. Morgan, Ros y Compa., Thomas Collar, and John Calvert".



footing'', greatly to the satisfaction of all concerned.<sup>45</sup> Commerce with the British, however, enjoyed only a temporary revival. By a series of proclamations in the course of that same year, 1777, Louisiana was given freedom of commerce with Yucatan and Cuba, the export duty at New Orleans was reduced to two per cent, and permission to import Guinea negroes was given once more to the French.<sup>46</sup> The result was the ruination of British trade. On July 18, 1778, the French commissioners reported:

The British flag has not appeared on this river for more than three months. . . . The duties to be paid by our ships . . . are reduced every day. . . . The whole trade of the Mississippi is now in our hands.<sup>47</sup>

As a consequence of the new Spanish commercial policy as interpreted by Gálvez, English contraband trade with Louisiana was almost extinguished even before Spain's entrance in the war against Great Britain in 1779 put a final stop to it.

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<sup>45</sup> British merchants of New Orleans to Lloyd, April 26, 1777. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 188-3.

<sup>46</sup> Proclamations of Bernardo de Gálvez, April 18, 1777. *A. G. I., Cuba*, 1232, July 15, 1777. *Ibid.* November 21, 1777. MS. in Louisiana Collection, Bancroft Library.

<sup>47</sup> Gayarré, *ut supra*, III. 117-118.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Estudos de Historia Americana.* By FIDELINO DE FIGUEIREDO. (São Paulo: Comp. Melhoramentos de São Paulo, 1929. Pp. 190. 8\$000.)

In connection with the recent visit to the United States of the Portuguese writer, Fidelino de Figueiredo, it seems not inappropriate to call attention to the latest work of this distinguished scholar in the field of American and Hispanic American History. The book under review consists of the following essays: I. "Modern notions regarding the geographical discoveries of the Portuguese"; II. "Portuguese collaboration in the discovery of North America"; III. "The scientific aspect of the Portuguese colonization of America"; IV. "A century of Portuguese-Brazilian Relations"; V. "Historical relations between Portugal and the United States". Each of these essays abounds in new points of view or is fertile in suggestions. In the first essay, for instance, the writer adopts without reservation the thesis that Cabral's discovery of Brazil in 1500 was due not to chance but to a voluntary shifting of his course far to the west on explicit instructions from Lisbon. According to Dr. Figueiredo the insistence of John II. in 1494 that the line of demarcation be pushed 370 leagues beyond the Cape Verde Islands was due to a suspicion, amounting almost to conviction, that the zone thus reserved for Portugal embraced lands of continental dimensions and that it was the duty of Cabral to find such lands and claim them for the Portuguese crown.

In his third essay the writer challenges, with apparent success, the assertions of such historians as Varnhagen and Rocha Pombo that the earlier settlers of Brazil were almost exclusively criminals and vagabonds. While a few such undesirables were undoubtedly dumped on the shores of Brazil they were soon succeeded by *bona fide* colonists. Especially valuable is the writer's account of the scientific missions to Brazil in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here he has rescued from oblivion an exhaustive work by Souza Viterbo, *Expedições scientifico-militares de Portugal ao Brasil*, appearing in 1893-1895 in the *Revista Militar* of Lisbon. The account of nearly a score of important missions, largely unknown to Brazilian historians, adds

a new and substantial chapter to the cultural history of the colony. In the same essay, Dr. Figueiredo undertakes to refute the frequently made charge that the intellectual life of colonial Brazil, outside the schools of the Jesuits and a cenacle or two of poets, was virtually *nil*. A document exhumed from the *Arquivo de Marinha* reveals, for instance, in the captaincy of Bahia alone forty-six centers of instruction in 1718. Reading and writing were taught in seventeen of these schools; Latin grammar in twenty-four; philosophy in two; and Greek, rhetoric, and geometry in one each respectively. The budget for the years 1795-1797 amounted to twenty-five *contos*. Finally, the writer gives a fascinating account of the six academies established in Brazil during the last century of the colonial period. Of these the two most important were the *Academia Brasileira dos Renascidos* (1759-1760) and the *Sociedade Literaria do Rio de Janeiro* (1786).

The concluding essay of Dr. Figueiredo, though bearing but indirectly on Hispanic America, is intensely interesting and constitutes the first attempt, in the opinion of the reviewer, to summarize the historical relations between Portugal and the United States. The most illustrious Portuguese diplomat ever accredited to Washington was Father José Corrêa da Serra, an economist, politician, and a member of most of the learned societies of his time. His intellectual liberalism brought him into conflict with the government and clergy of Portugal and he spent long years of exile abroad. From 1812 to 1816, he resided as a private citizen in the United States. He was the intimate friend of Thomas Jefferson who drew upon his counsel in the organization of the University of Virginia. He also came into close contact with Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams. In 1816, he was appointed Portuguese minister to the United States, and in this capacity was called upon to protest against the Baltimore privateers who, sailing under letters of marque signed by Artigas, the Uruguayan revolutionist, played havoc with Portuguese shipping. Embittered by the failure of his remonstrances to check these abuses he left the United States in 1816, an enemy of this country. It is possible to mention only a few of the other contacts so delightfully described by Dr. Figueiredo. It was Almeida Garrett, the great apostle of Portuguese romanticism, who as minister negotiated in 1841 a treaty of commerce and amity between the two countries. One of the most acute foreign observers of our Civil War was Antonio da Cunha Pereira Sotto Mayor whose sojourn among us resulted in a



three volume work which is still the standard history of the United States in Portugal.<sup>1</sup> Unhappily, the greatest of Portugal's novelists, Eça de Queiroz, found little to praise and much to blame in the United States. While holding in the sixties the post of consul in Havana he found time to travel widely among us. He could see nothing but a nation of crass materialists and some of his appreciations (e.g. in *Prosas Barbaras*) strikingly anticipate the judgments of the contemporary French critic Duhamel.

Dr. Figueiredo is catholic in the range of his tastes and interests. He is not only an able historian but also an eminent man of letters. Formerly director of the *Bibliotheca Nacional* of Lisbon, member of the leading historical societies of Portugal, Spain, and Brazil, editor of the *Revista Historica*, author of a score of books of which the comprehensive histories of Portuguese literature are perhaps the outstanding, he is ideally equipped to further the cultural *rapprochement* between the United States and the Portuguese-speaking world. The book under review is one evidence of his success in this admirable endeavor.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

*José María Vargas.* By RAFAEL DOMÍNGUEZ. (Caracas: Editorial Sur-America, 1930. Pp. 316.)

This welcome volume was published by Parra León Hermanos in honor of the centennial of the death of Bolívar. Dr. Domínguez makes no pretense that the work is a biography; the meagerness of available documents, he says, made a biography impossible. Rather, he aimed to throw light on the early history of the University of Caracas through presenting material bearing on the life of Dr. Vargas, especially through the publication of documentary material that might otherwise be lost. The author succeeded in his undertaking. His volume is largely made up of documents never before published, many of them from the archives of the University. But, in the opinion of the reviewer, the career of Vargas would have been made more vivid and the book rendered more readable if the writer had presented the gist of various of the documents in his own words and had relegated the documents themselves to an appendix at the end. In

<sup>1</sup> *Os Estados Unidos—Esbôco historico desde a Descoberta da America até á Presidencia de Johnson* (Lisboa, 1877-1881).

addition to material from the records of the University and the government of Venezuela, Dr. Domínguez has drawn his information from some early lives of Vargas, Vargas's unofficial writings, and files of the *Gaceta de Venezuela*.

Among the first documents included is the certificate of *limpieza de sangre* presented by José María when he registered as a student at the University of Venezuela, where he began his medical training, which was completed in Edinburgh.

Vargas had little part in the struggle for independence from Spain, though he favored it, for during eight of the most important years of the movement against the mother country he practiced medicine in Porto Rico. Though he stood for separation from Gran Colombia, his attitude was rather lukewarm. But he had a large part in framing the constitution of the new state. As is well known, while president of his country, he followed a wise and benevolent policy. Vargas refused diplomatic missions to various European courts because he believed that he could best serve Venezuela by continuing his educational and scientific work. His greatest contributions were, indeed, in the fields of medicine, scientific research, and education. Some of his most valuable writings were treatises on medicinal plants of the new world. His first teaching connection with the University of Caracas came through his offering to give free instruction in anatomy in the medical school, an offer that was accepted. Later, he had classes in surgery, obstetrics, and chemistry at the University, as well. When he became rector he reorganized and modernized the institution. After he had resigned from the presidency of the country he became national director of public education, and in this capacity he planned the modernization and extension of the school system. They said well who called José María Vargas the "just and wise", "a credit to the human race".

The frontispiece to the book is an excellent reproduction in colors of the portrait of Vargas which hangs in the University of Caracas.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

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*Virreinato del Perú*. By LUIS HERNÁNDEZ ALFONSO. (Madrid: Primera edición Xavier Morata, editor, 1930. Pp. 266.)

This work was awarded the Cervantes prize in the 1930 meeting of the "Deputation and Council of the greatness of Spain". The

purpose of the author is to examine impartially the principal events in Peru from the coming of the Spaniards to the end of Spanish rule in the viceroyalty of Peru and to show the greatness of the colonial system which justifies the work of Spain in America.

The volume is divided into four parts, namely: I. The Country and its Conquest (consisting of 51 pages); II. The Viceroyalty under the Austrians (70 pages); III. Peru under the Bourbons (48 pages); and IV. The Colony (70 pages). There is an appendix consisting of ethnological notes, five maps made by the author, a table of contents which gives the title of the twenty-four chapters, and a bibliography of two pages. There are no illustrations and no index. The first 78 pages contain little new material, since they are based chiefly on secondary works. The chronological order is not always followed in the monograph. Among the eighty-six books listed in the bibliography, a number of which are secondary works, there is no manuscript material, although a great wealth of manuscripts and documents on the subject treated may be found in the Archives of the Indies. The famous *Memorias de los virreyes que han gobernado el Perú* are not included in the bibliography. In certain parts of the book quotations are cited from letters, but they are not listed in any footnotes or the bibliography. The place and date of publication of the bibliographical works are lacking. The explanatory footnotes are few and do not indicate where the material was obtained.

The author said that Pedro de la Gasca (p. 63) was appointed viceroy of Peru, but most historians agree that he was only given the title of president of the audiencia. He also stated that Teodoro de Croix had governed Mexico (p. 148); it was his uncle who had been viceroy of New Spain. In the chapter on "The Natives" Hernández Alfonso tries to show that writers have greatly exaggerated the cruel treatment of the Indians by the Spaniards. He contends that the natives were much better off under their Spanish rulers than under the Incas, and that even the mita system was not as bad as depicted. In the chapter which treats "The Spaniards" he emphasizes the marvelous fitness of the Spaniards for colonization and declares that the idea of Spanish adventurers coming to America is greatly exaggerated, since most men came to win a livelihood. He alleges that it is a mistake to believe that the mestizos were friends of the Indians, for the Indians continually took the side of Spain against the mestizos and creoles (p. 201 *et seq.*). A chapter is devoted to "Viceregal Or-



ganization" and in it the author attempts to correct the idea that the colonies were, by the famous bull of Alexander VI., the personal possessions of the crown of Castile. He maintains that the Indian dominions were simply new states added to those of Spain. The statement that almost all the viceroys resisted the judges of the *audiencia* and their work (p. 211) seems to be slightly exaggerated. Hernández Alfonso leads us to believe that the thirty cortes or assemblies of representatives of the cities, which met in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to send petitions to the king, ask for the adoption of certain measures, or make some complaint, were similar to the cortes of Spain (p. 216). The fact is that they were merely gatherings of people with no regular time for meeting. It is asserted that the independence of the Spanish colonies was without doubt the fulfilment of a natural law, the same which deprived England of its American dominions, and that the great leaders who worked for independence were only the agents of that natural law (pp. 249-250). It is rather uncertain to apply natural laws to the making of history. Why did not Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and all the other colonies in the world win their independence too and fulfill the same natural law?

The work as a whole is well organized, the style is clear, and the events are described in a concise and interesting manner. A tremendous amount of information is compressed into a small space and the work will be of use to teachers and students. This book would be very useful if it were translated into English, since it is a general history of the whole colonial period in the viceroyalty of Peru.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Oklahoma College for Women.

*Cedulario Cubano. Los Orígenes de la Colonización (1492-1512).* By JOSÉ MARÍA CHACÓN Y CALVO. (Madrid: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1929. Pp. 481, 13 plates (photostats), 25 pesetas.)

Dr. José María Chacón y Calvo needs no introduction to readers of this REVIEW or to students of Hispanic American history. The present volume—the first of his *Cedulario Cubano*—is the sixth publication of the valuable "Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de Hispano-América". Dr. Chacón y Calvo, historian, critic, writer, is a real scholar. He is, moreover, a constant and sympathetic

friend to all serious historians, and ever ready to be of assistance to them. His prestige as a scholar is not limited to his own country of Cuba, for he is well known in every Spanish-speaking nation. His studies relating to Cuban, Spanish, and Spanish-American literatures, as well as his historical monographs, have all received a high and deserved consideration for their accuracy and soundness; and show him to be imbued with the same principles as those other renowned Cuban critics, namely Armas, Sanguily, Varona, and others.

For several years, Dr. Chacón y Calvo, by virtue of a commission from the Cuban Academy of History has been working in the Spanish archives, especially in the Archivo de Indias. He is also carrying on investigations in the archives of Segovia, Simancas, Córdoba, Alcalá de Henares, and the Real Academia de Historia. He has made a careful and systematic investigation of the papers relating to the discovery and colonization of Hispanic America, and has made an accurate inventory of them. At the same time he has been sending to the Cuban Academy of History copies of the *provisiones* and *reales cédulas* conserved in Spanish archives, and that institution now has about one thousand of such copies, carefully made and revised. Their publication will prove one of the most useful and valuable contributions for the study of the colonial era in Hispanic America.

The papers published in the present volume are of the highest interest. Some of them have not been published hitherto; others published in part are now published in full for the first time; and others correct former published versions, the exact meaning of which was changed at times by causes not always justifiable. They are all from the copies made by Dr. Chacón y Calvo for the Cuban Academy.

The documents have been edited according to the modern method. Although the editor has expanded the abbreviations, he has retained the old orthography. He has also inserted the foliation of the originals and in each case has given the pressmark in full, which will facilitate their use.

In this initial volume are found new laws for newly discovered peoples—laws which, indeed, were the origin and foundation of methods of governing lasting for centuries; and which, although containing many errors, were retained until abrogated by revolution. Here also are found royal instructions; the transgression of law by officials; materials relating to the casa de contratación; documents relating to expeditions; and others relating to governors and other officials,

plantations, mines, Indians, Negroes, the missionaries; and other matters. As in a panorama, all these pass before the eyes of the reader, who here has a bird's-eye view of much to admire, to condemn, and to praise in the tremendous work of colonization effected in the West Indies and nearby countries of the mainland after October 12, 1492.

The documents themselves are preceded by a long introduction by Dr. Chacón y Calvo, in which is a masterly recapitulation and critical study of the most important works on Cuba published in the course of the last century. The succeeding volumes of this series will present documents from the earliest times down into the eighteenth century, and will form the best kind of material for a study of the history of Cuba.

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ.

Washington, October, 1931.

*Papeles existentes en el Archivo General de Indias relativos a Cuba y muy particularmente a la Habana.* Compiled with an Introduction by Joaquín Llaverías. (La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1931. 2 vols. Pp. 302; 310.)

The Cuban Academy of History has published many books, in all about eighty volumes, some of which, it must be confessed, have added little or nothing to the world's knowledge. However, most of them are useful and several of them, even, very important. Among the latter fall the volumes now under review. Several years ago, Dr. Nestor Carbonell, a member of the academy, was appointed official historian of the city of Havana, an appointment carrying a monthly salary of about four hundred dollars. Accordingly he went to Spain and in the Archivo de Indias was able to acquire copies of about seven hundred documents conserved there, all referring to Cuba and most of them to Havana. On his return to Cuba, Dr. Carbonell relinquished his office and abandoning his plan of writing a history of Havana presented his papers (after several years) to the Academy of History as a personal gift.

At the time the gift was made, the present reviewer was the chief of the secretary's office of the academy. As part of his duties he was intrusted with these papers and took the necessary steps for their preservation. He therefore has a firsthand acquaintance with these materials which extend from 1512 to 1830.

The two volumes under review contain one hundred and fifty-four of the seven hundred papers and cover the period 1512-1586. They present nothing new for the history of Havana. Miss Irene A. Wright (who, it is believed, had considerable to do with the copying of these papers) in her own works, namely, the *Historia documentada de San Cristóbal de la Habana durante el Siglo XVI*, and *Historia documentada de San Cristóbal de la Habana durante la primera Mitad del Siglo XVII*, both published by the academy, brought the history to 1647. The collections published by the Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid, and the collection of Dr. José María Chacón y Calvo, now under course of publication, and some texts relating to the history of Cuba, also cover the same period.

However, the volumes are useful as being part of a complete series; and will make the history of which they treat more easily accessible to students. Furthermore, as Miss Wright, unfortunately for Cuba, has given up her investigations on Cuban history, the papers of the Carbonell collection dealing with the eighteenth century (to be published in later volumes) will complete those of an earlier date published by Miss Wright.

The present reviewer is far from asserting that the papers of the Carbonell collection have exhausted the papers in the Archivo de Indias relating to Cuba or to Havana during the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and the beginning of the nineteenth. Dr. Carbonell himself could not make such an assertion. On the contrary, it is hoped that Dr. Chacón y Calvo, who is making his own investigations in person will add many hitherto unknown papers to those of Dr. Carbonell who, unlike the former, did not make personal investigations in the archives.

Great as is the service rendered by the academy in publishing these volumes, that service would have been greater had the documents been properly annotated. Unfortunately, it is to be feared that, since the Cuban government has seen fit to discontinue the subvention granted to the academy, the series may remain uncompleted and the data promised for the final volume in the way of an alphabetical index which would present necessary data, will not be compiled.

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ.

Washington, D. C.



*Geographische Uebersicht und illustrierter Routenbericht der deutschen Gran Chaco Expedition.* By HANS KRIEG. (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1931.)

To the literature on the Gran Chaco there have recently been added some very valuable works by Professor Hans Krieg, the director of the zoölogical collection of the University of Munich. Although the main purpose of the expedition (1925-1926) was the exploration of the animal world, the present volume, giving as it does a geographical survey of the Gran Chaco is of some importance to the historian as well as to the politician. On the basis of the observations which he made during his journey from Asunción along the Pilcomayo to Villa Montes and from Santa Cruz to San José de Chiquitos and Puerto Suárez, Krieg tries to describe the types of landscape and their gradual transitions. Thus, in addition to the regions that were in dispute during the conflict over the Chaco, he discusses places having an historical interest as well as places considered suitable for present-day colonization. Prospective settlers, seduced by fantastic tales, will find a serious warning in a separate chapter, in which the author relates his own experiences. These descriptions of the landscape will be of lasting value to the historian, for a knowledge of geographical conditions seems to be no less important to the historian than to the scientist. Throughout his itinerary, Dr. Krieg deals constantly, in fact, with historical events. He narrates the attempts at colonization of the few settlers of the Chaco region and dwells at some length on the history of Villa Montes. His contributions to the story of the Chaco will cause readers of his book to view that region from a new angle. The volume contains a comprehensive bibliography and the ninety-two illustrations are of value in supplementing the text.

Kilchberg (Zürich), Switzerland.

HANS W. HARTMANN.

*Die Indianer Nordost Perus.* By GÜNTER TESSMANN. (Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1930. Pp. 856.)

Herr Tessmann's volume is a masterly one. It is a fundamental study, and its author believes that it will be particularly serviceable because of its methodological qualities. He is hopeful that the accepting of his method, as outlined in this volume, by those dealing with the Indians will finally result in a general survey of all tribes. It is impossible to describe his method in full here for lack of space. Its

excellence, however, would seem to be demonstrated; and undoubtedly all scholars who make comparisons of human civilizations in the future will find it of advantage to follow his method if they would obtain a result consonant with the standard set by the author.

Herr Tessmann treats every tribe under seventy-six headings, the same heading having the same number for all tribes. For instance, the form of settlement is discussed everywhere under section 61. In order to ascertain the relations between civilizations, the author isolates each element of civilization, and in each instance inquires whether it exists, and if he finds it to exist, its type. His results are all duly registered.

The conclusion is that civilizations are characterized by the social attitude with regard to sex. They are either masculine or feminine in character or a mixture of the two. There are also typical tribes, mixed tribes, and strongly mixed tribes. In Northeastern Peru he found four civilization groups. The ancient civilization group keeps its settlements away from large streams and travel routes. It is a masculine civilization, sedulously dominating the woman in all functions in the domestic economy. The Amazonian family on the other hand bestows every consideration on the woman. Circumcision of the woman is the outstanding characteristic of this group. The principal tribe of the western part of this group is the Chebero, which is not so markedly feminine as the other parts of the group. The principal tribe of the Ucayalian group is the Tschama, among whom the influence of the man is small, though beneficent, for it tempers the one-sidedness of customs and habits. Among these people, the woman cares more for external habits and exercises her influence in the material sphere. In the center of the Sub-Andean group are found the Chiraro (in museums often confused with the Chebero). This is a masculine people, but the man has acquired some elements of civilization from beyond the Andes. Economic oppression and a sexual brutality of the man are the rule among them.

In the groups noted above either the man or the woman prevails. In the northern group, to which the Uitoto belong, both sexes enjoy equal rights, although the equality is not perfect in practice. Among these people, it is neither man nor woman who represents the ideal, but the couple. For instance, if a male dies, even though he were unmarried, the image of a woman is placed near his corpse.

HANS W. HARTMANN.

Kilchberg (Zürich), Switzerland.

*Tacna and Arica.* By WILLIAM JEFFERSON DENNIS. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. Pp. 332.)

It is devoutly to be hoped that the long standing Tacna-Arica question has at last been definitively settled. If it has, then W. J. Dennis in this book has said the last word on the subject. He has brought his story down to July 28, 1929. As far as the reviewer is aware nothing of major importance has occurred since then. On that date, final ratifications of the Treaty of Santiago were exchanged between Peru and Chile. This treaty was a compromise. Compromises do not always suit everybody, and both governments which agreed upon this one have since fallen—that of Leguia in Peru and that of Ibañez in Chile. However, it is to be hoped and expected that both nations will have the good sense to keep this settlement permanent. Assuming that this will be so, Mr. Dennis, as a recorder of history, has brought the story to a happy ending.

For the beginning of the story he has gone back to "The Birth of the Nations" (Chapter I) in which he shows the attitude of the conquistadores, Pizarro and Almagro, to the disputed region, and then the relationship of this region to the various states into which the viceroyalty of Peru split up after the wars for independence. Reproductions of five ancient maps show the Desert of Atacama during the colonial period. Emphasis is placed on the confusion as to the exact location of the Rio Salado, the northern boundary of the province of Chile, and the uncertainties as to its latitude. Hence the principle of *uti possidetis* has been impossible to apply. This cause of the dispute goes far back beyond the discovery of guano and nitrates in the disputed provinces, although, as is made evident in (Chapter II) "Nations plus Nitrates" the whole controversy smells of guano. The rights and importance of foreign interests in the guano and nitrate deposits is shown to be fundamentally important in the genesis of the dispute. Names and incidents piled one upon another are convincing.

In Chapter III, "Chile Bolivian Entangling Alliances" and Chapter IV "Who Started the War of the Pacific", it is made clear that Bolivia's interests in the Tacna-Arica seacoast and its dispute with Chile were due to economic rather than to political causes. Then "the unnational nature of nitrate exploitation" is emphasized and the inference is drawn that the foreign creditors of Peru, fearing the loss of their guano concessions, were actually responsible for bringing on

the War of the Pacific. Many more details of military and naval operations during this war are given than are found in most histories in English.

In Chapter VIII, "Interventions of the United States" and elsewhere, the author shows how the lack of understanding of South American conditions by secretaries of state of the United States and the stupidity of United States diplomats in Peru, Bolivia, and Chile did much to bring on and to prolong the war. Certainly there is little to be proud of in the United States diplomacy of this period.

The desire of a large group of European bondholders, whose guano interests were suffering from the war, was instrumental in inducing the United States to intervene. Secretary Evarts displayed his ignorance of Hispanic American psychology, and the special agents whom he sent to try to bring about an agreement between the three countries involved in the war, soon revealed themselves as inept bunglers and busybodies who were unable to bring about coöperation even among themselves. Furthermore, Secretaries Freylinghuysen and Blaine incurred suspicion of interference in behalf of the Crédit Industriel and thereby delaying the ending of the war. No doubt such interference seemed necessary to prevent the Crédit Industriel and the Peruvian Bondholders French Committee from calling on some European nation to intervene. Likewise hope of receiving help from Argentina also kept Peru from making an earlier peace.

In Chapter IX, "The Fatal Treaty of Ancón" is fully described since this "was the principal issue of the Coolidge arbitration." In considering the "Opinion and Award of President Coolidge" (Chapter XI) the importance of selecting the proper translation of the phrase *expirado este plaza* is explained. The author condemns President Coolidge for resorting "to such grammatical and historical disingenuousness with word-play" and states his belief that the decision that the plebiscite should be held "was not based on the arguments but . . . on a general idea that plebiscites are fair and that this one was a question for the people to decide".

That this assumption was incorrect is shown in (Chapter XII) "The Attempted Tacna-Arica Plebiscite of 1925-26". "A brief summary of the drama" shows that General Pershing and his Plebiscitary Commission were unable to provide a free and fair opportunity for the people to express their desires uninfluenced by official pressure. Incidents of this pressure are related in detail. The opinion



that General Pershing was favoring Peru brought about a deadlock between the latter and Augustín Edwards, the Chilean commissioner. It is apparent, however, that General Pershing tried to be fair in every way, but that the bitterness between Peruvian residents and Chilean officials made impossible without neutral police, a fair plebiscite.

The last chapter (XIII) "Final Settlement by Direct Negotiations" shows how neither Peru nor Chile would consider Secretary Kellogg's suggestion that the territory be sold to "a South American State not a party to the negotiations" (obviously Bolivia), but how they did accept his mediation for a reestablishment of diplomatic relations. The author comments on the value of commerce and "the economic element in international relationships". These, the tour to South America of President-elect Hoover, and "the opening of aerial communications between all the countries of the Americas helped cement the relations resumed diplomatically between Peru and Chile".

Thus, in spite of general pessimism over the failure of the plebiscite, goodwill and amity between the countries seemed to have been gradually and silently developing until both were willing to compromise on the bases proposed by the president of the United States. By the treaty of Santiago, Tacna reverted to Peru and Arica was retained by Chile. Bolivia, whose interests were not represented, received nothing. There is, however, hope in the fact that a supplementary protocol allows for the possibility by agreement between Chile and Peru "of arranging for a corridor to the sea" for Bolivia. Thus, in spite of its long period of meddlesomeness and inept diplomacy, the United States has at last made a worth-while contribution to interamerican solidarity and goodwill.

While the author has necessarily retold much well known history he has brought out many new facts and has made a valuable addition by stressing the important influence of European financial interests and of United States interference in bringing on and prolonging the War of the Pacific to the detriment of the welfare of all concerned. As for responsibility for the failure of the plebiscite, the weight of evidence seems to be against Chile, although the author shows no bias either against or for that country or any of the others involved. He shows that he is a strictly impartial historian.

Quotations from documents are liberally used to substantiate statements. References to sources are grouped at the ends of chapters.

Appendices give the texts of the various treaties, protocols, and arbitral opinions which have established the critical points in this question from 1866 to 1929. The index is satisfactory. In addition to the maps already mentioned, there is one page containing photographic reproductions, of no particular interest, of scenes in the nitrate and guano regions.

This book has been called a survey, but it is more than that. It has accomplished the purpose of the author in providing "an English narrative of the highly dramatic events which produced the Tacna-Arica dispute" and in interpreting "the attempted mediations of the United States which have been frequently misunderstood and which may illustrate the difficult rôle of a mediating government". This last is, in the opinion of the reviewer, the most valuable contribution made by this book.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Lake Forest College.

*Mexican Maze, with illustrations by Diego Rivera.* By CARLETON BEALS. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1931. Pp. 370.)

This is a remarkable piece of impressionistic writing which has a definite purpose; that of presenting a real picture of Mexican life and yet of pleading for native culture while opposing United States aggression. In the words of Mr. Beals (p. 361):

Any aggression against Latin America is a profanation of the human spirit of which we are a part. My admiration goes to the United States, for its many notable achievements; its conquest over nature rather than over man. But much of my love and hope goes out to the Latin World.

No one acquainted with Mexico can doubt the author's knowledge of his subject. He has been in and through Mexico for years and has felt the heart-beat of the community with unusually sensitive and sympathetic fingers. He has all the advantages of a man from another country when it comes to impartiality and freshness of view—yet at this very point he runs into a danger. Of a different race, everything he sees is new and striking. The brilliant colors (and Mexico has many) become almost too gaudy, the shadows (and Mexico has even more than its share of them too) become abysmally black; heroes are always most heroic while villains, especially generals, become roués and devils incarnate (pp. 17 ff., 214 ff.).

The plodding historian would not dare to dismiss thus summarily, yet truly with unusual insight and great suggestiveness, the leaders of fifteen crowded years of Mexican history:

Madero went smash. . . . After Madero came Huerta, the bloodthirsty drunken troglodyte; Villa the half-savage bandit Socialist; Carranza the stately obstinate Caesar; Zapata, idealistic, crude, despotic; Obregón, the plump card-sharper of ambitions.

Likewise many will vigorously disagree with Mr. Beals's statement that the portion of the United States north of the Río Grande "is one with the Mexican domain—geographically and climatically".

However, to pick out isolated points is to miss the point of any impressionistic sketch. The author, with a deep love of things Mexican, shows the reader phases of Mexican life from that of the brutal Yaqui to that of the people of Tlaxcala "sturdy in their very humbleness". The pitiful thirst for knowledge of twelve years ago is seen bearing fruit in the inadequately clothed parents proudly watching the sports of their children clad, the girls in bloomers and the boys in gym suits. To further show the new Mexico as it thinks and acts, Mr. Beals secured numerous illustrations from the forceful pen of the popular Mexican artist Diego Rivera.

In spite of a tendency to idealize, Mr. Beals does not hesitate to aim caustic criticism at real weaknesses wherever detected. He bitingly describes some of the local Roman Catholic practices (p. 286 ff.) yet is also outspoken in his denunciation of Catholic baiting (p. 312). "Arms and booze, restricted to government favorites, explain the new rural dictatorship throughout all Mexico" (p. 210) is surely sufficiently inclusive criticism. Likewise, the pointed denunciation (p. 188) of the ousting of Dr. Gamio from office during the Calles régime is equally specific.

In summary it might be said that the author with a keen and incisive pen has described scenes of Mexican life. Each sketch is skillfully and always forcefully presented. One of these pen pictures taken alone may easily become a caricature; taken as a whole they present a mosaic of Mexican life strangely like that retained in the mind of any sympathetic Anglo-Saxon who spends a considerable amount of time south of the Río Grande. Here one finds a literary production, frequently brilliantly written, that is withal well balanced

and eminently fair. Mr. Beals's *Mexican Maze* deserves the cordial reception and wide sale which it bids fair to receive.

W. H. CALLCOTT.

University of South Carolina.

*Letters and Notes on the Texan Santa Fé Expedition, 1841-1842.* By THOMAS FALCONER, with Introduction and Notes by F. W. HODGE. (New York: Dauber and Pine Bookshops, 1930. Pp. 159.)

Whether the Texan Santa Fé expedition was, in reality, merely the "wild goose campaign" which Andrew Jackson called it, or whether it was simply the natural result of the expansionist plans of the Republic of Texas, is perhaps an open question. There can be little doubt, however, of its significance in Texas history, as well as in the relations between Anglo-Americans and Spanish-Americans in what Professor George P. Garrison has called "a contest of civilizations". For Texas it represents the high water mark of its attempts to extend its jurisdiction over adjoining areas. For the Mexicans it was another of those incidents which strengthened their conviction of the perfidy of their grasping neighbor on the north. For these reasons the publication of any materials which will facilitate the study of the expedition is worthy of consideration.

The personnel of the party included, besides Texan soldiers, a miscellaneous group of merchants, health seekers, and adventurers, and three "guests"; and it is to these "guests" that we owe most of our knowledge of the expedition. One of them, George W. Kendall of the New Orleans *Picayune*, was obviously seeking "copy", and his two volume *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition* went through seven editions from 1844 to 1856. Another, Franklin Combs, son of a United States army officer, published a short account of his experiences which enjoyed a brief popularity. The third was Thomas Falconer, an English lawyer, who was invited by President Lamar to accompany the expedition as "historiographer". Falconer returned to England as soon as possible after his release from Mexico, and his accounts of the expedition were published in various forms and in various places, ranging from letters and serial articles in New Orleans newspapers to a discussion of geographical features in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.

In the volume under consideration, Dr. Hodge has brought together



and edited this scattered material, and has contributed an introduction and an itinerary. The editing has been carefully done. The editorial notes are full and critical, and contain a wealth of bibliographical information. The value of the material would seem to be in its confirmation of much of Kendall's *Narrative*, which had to be written from memory because of the confiscation of his notes by the Mexican authorities. Perhaps the most serious disappointment is the absence of any clue to the existence of that part of Falconer's diary that was not incorporated by Kendall in the seventh edition of the *Narrative*. Of course, Kendall had his reasons for publishing the part covering the period from August 31 to October 9, 1841, but what became of the part for the first ten weeks of the journey? Can it be possible that, by some queer turn of fate, Falconer kept a diary only for the period when he and Kendall were with different detachments of the expedition? As a matter of fact, there is ample internal evidence to indicate that the diary was prepared after the publication of the first edition of Kendall's *Narrative* rather than during the period which it covers. (See especially, the entries for September 17 and 18, and October 7; pp. 109, 110, 116.)

As is indicated in the footnotes, the archives of both Mexico and Texas contain much valuable manuscript material of a more or less official character which must be examined more thoroughly before the full story of the Texan Santa Fé expedition can be written.

WILLIAM C. BINKLEY.

Vanderbilt University.

*The Martial Spirit. A Study of our War with Spain.* By WALTER MILLIS. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931. Pp. 427. Illus. \$4.00.)

In consequence of the time which has elapsed since the Spanish-American War and the materials for its study which have become available, it would seem that a new appraisal of that struggle is not only possible but also greatly needed. If one is seeking, however, for a well balanced, dispassionate account, based upon careful and meticulous research under the canons of modern historical scholarship, he will be disappointed in this book by Mr. Millis. The author, avowedly, has not investigated unprinted source material, and he does not bother to supply references to his quotations and statements of fact. No

attempt has been made to analyze evidence on important controversial questions, and there is very little in the book that is particularly new, or that could be termed adequate narrative or definitive interpretation. In approaching his subject Mr. Millis failed to consider the long history of Spanish-American relations relative to Cuba, and his attitude toward the characters of his story is unfriendly, if not actually cynical. Here, then, is a book which should be considered as polemical literature rather than serious history, and to judge it otherwise would not only be futile but also unfair to the author. If one takes his political and military heroes seriously one will find here a most disconcerting volume. If one is interested, however, in an exceptionally brilliant portrayal of the way in which the hostility toward Spain was engendered in the United States by Cuban propagandists, and opportunistic newspapers and politicians; if one is intrigued by the sordid side of the war as it relates itself to office seekers, jingoists, profiteers, jealousies and ambitions among men in high positions who display a negation of patriotism; and if, by chance, one still thinks of the Spanish-American War in terms of *Cuba libre* and Frederic Remington's pictures, then he will certainly find in this book by Mr. Millis something of interest, probably something of profit. The title of the book is well chosen, for it is, indeed, a study of the "martial spirit" with the Spanish-American War for an example.

RUHL J. BARTLETT.

Tufts College.

*The Lost Continent of Mu.* By COLONEL JAMES CHURCHWARD. (New York: Ives Washburn, 1931. Pp. 335. Illus. \$3.00.)

*The Children of Mu.* By COLONEL JAMES CHURCHWARD. New York: Ives Washburn, 1931. Pp. 266. Illus. \$3.00.)

The Lost Continent of Mu (pronounced "Moo") according to its latest discoverer lay in the central Pacific between 23 degrees north latitude and 25 degrees south latitude. From east to west it extended five thousand miles, while from north to south it extended three thousand miles. Many of the present-day islands, including Easter Island, are the remnants of its mountain system. This great continent reached its highest civilization about 50,000 B.C. Forty thousand years later, when it contained 64,000,000 people, the island sank beneath the sea and in consequence some of the now existing continents appeared.

Before this lamented catastrophe, Colonel Churchward asserts, many of its inhabitants migrated to North and South America, to Europe, to Africa, and to Asia. These were the "Children of Mu", and they established colonies in Egypt, India, Japan, China, the South Seas, Mexico, Central America, and South America.

To discover these "facts" the author devoted more than fifty years of his life, and traveled through India, Asia, the Pacific Islands, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and North and South America. To prove these "facts" the author points to (1) his translations of certain "Naacal tablets" now in India which were "written either in Burma or in Mu" between fifteen thousand and seventy thousand years ago in a dead language which he mastered and which only three other living persons know; (2) his translations of "ancient Maya writings" including the Troano manuscript, the Codex Cortesianus, and the Borgian Codex, none of which can be read with certainty by other scholars, but which the author states refer to Mu, or the "Lands of the West", which is the same thing; (3) the archaeological discoveries of William Niven in Central America and Mexico where he unearthed twenty-six hundred stone tablets, many of which refer to Mu; (4) a number of "ancient manuscripts" from India, Greece, Central America, and Mexico, (5) the "cliff writings in our western states"; and (6) the "existing ruins which by their location and the symbols that decorate them, tell of the Lost Continent of Mu".

A list of "facts" discovered by Colonel Churchward reads like the strangest of fiction, yet he is convinced of their reality and he feels that the reader should be also. He has maintained his ground like a crusader. He has found the original language of the people of Mu in India. He has discovered the original creation myth in Mu. He believes that on the Continent of Mu was the original Garden of Eden, thus finally solving that perplexing problem. He has convinced himself that Freemasonry originated in Mu. He has found that the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas constituted the dying embers of an earlier civilization from Mu. He has proven to his own satisfaction that the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* "is a sacred memorial dedicated to the multitudes of people who lost their lives at the destruction of Mu". He finds that the Greek alphabet, which he translates into the "Cara Maya language", is in reality an account of the destruction of the Continent of Mu. He asserts that airplanes are older than sailing vessels, that there was no glacial age, that geologists are wrong about

the formation of the earth and the continents, and that man did not develop from lower forms but appeared upon the continent of Mu fully developed.

To many persons this will sound and look, because of the many symbolical drawings, like believe-it-or-not stories. Few will be convinced, and most will positively doubt his assertions for the "proofs" are all apparently questionable, they are frequently interspersed with religious and mystic fanaticism, and they are told, like figments of an enthusiastic imagination, in such sophomoric language with tiresome repetitions that the suspicion of a hoax arises. It is difficult to see how scholars can give serious consideration to the work. Certainly students of archaeology and ethnology will demand greater authority for their facts than the citations of these two volumes which display not the slightest erudition.

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*The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America.* Volume twenty-five. Especially, Henry R. Wagner, "The Manuscript Atlases of Battista Agnese". (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. 180. Illus.)

There are three papers in this collection: *The Manuscript Atlases of Battista Agnese* by Henry R. Wagner; *Russian Expansion to America: Its Bibliographical Foundations* by Robert J. Kerner; and *A Bibliographical Guide for the Study of English* by Arthur G. Kennedy. For the student of Hispanic American history the first of these studies by the author of *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (1929) has the greatest interest. Fortunately, a reprint edition (although small) of this important contribution has been made.

Battista Agnese, about whose life nothing is known, was a Genoese map maker of the sixteenth century. There exist today about sixty atlases attributed to him which contain altogether some six hundred maps. It is estimated that between about 1536 and 1564, the period of his greatest activity, he produced nearly one hundred atlases. In nearly every case his maps are what are commonly called "portolan charts" with the familiar "rhumb" or "loxodromic" lines although they were not intended to be used in navigation.



The Agnese maps are drawn on vellum and represent the knowledge concerning geography then current. In making most of his maps, Agnese copied from others although in the case of at least one world map many of the boundaries seem to have been the result of his own imaginings. His maps of America in most instances, however, seem to have been copied from "official" Spanish sources. Since many of his maps are in colors his efforts are in reality works of art rather than cartographical contributions to knowledge. Nevertheless, he is the first known cartographer in Europe to depict the discoveries of Francisco de Ulloa in 1539 and 1540 and the earlier explorations of Fray Marcos de Niza.

Twelve examples of Agnese maps covering the whole world or parts of it are given as an appendix to this article. Particularly interesting are those dealing with the Western Hemisphere which along with other maps of the same region the compiler has classified and critically discussed. Appended to the paper, too, are descriptions of Agnese maps arranged by years and by types. The location of all known Agnese atlases is also given. Still another section of the paper contains a bibliography of four and one-half pages dealing with early maps and cartography. Mr. Wagner has produced a very valuable contribution to the cartography of America. This is the most comprehensive study of Agnese that has appeared.

The second paper in this volume touches only incidentally and slightly the field of Hispanic American history and then only in so far as it concerns Russian encroachments upon Spanish territory, while the third paper bears no relation whatever to the subject of Hispanic American history.

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*The Philippines Past and Present.* By DEAN C. WORCESTER. New ed. in one volume, with biographical sketch and four added chapters, by Ralston Hayden. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xli, 862. Illus.; two maps; index. \$6.00.)

*The Philippine Islands.* By W. CAMERON FORBES. 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928. Pp. xiv, 620; ix, 636. Illus.; maps; index. \$10.00.)

These two works are the most notable contributions to the history and politics of the Philippine Islands within recent years. The first,

with its excellent biography of Dean C. Worcester (notwithstanding his brusqueness and tactlessness at times, one of the most eminent of all the Americans who have rendered service to the Philippine Islands and peoples), its intelligent revision, and the additional chapters by Professor Hayden, is almost a new work. Too much praise cannot be given to Professor Hayden for the manner in which he has performed his work on this new edition of an old book. In his biography of Commissioner Worcester he has brought out many points with relation to the latter's life in, and work for, the Philippines, which have not been generally known. His revisions have been made sympathetically and nothing has been excised from former editions except what can well be spared—repetitions or personal matter which were the greatest drawbacks of the book as Worcester left it;—while he has properly summarized various lengthy accounts or transferred such matters to footnotes. The four new chapters deal with the period since 1913, and in these Professor Hayden has placed students under deep obligation to him for the manner in which he has treated the various questions discussed. He has stated the various problems that have arisen calmly and on their merits, without partisanship or bias. For the first time since the little book of David P. Barrows was published and the unfinished volumes by James A. LeRoy, a writer has been able to look at the islands as a whole and attempt to generalize intelligently and dispassionately about them. His chapters form a contribution not to be taken lightly. In his preface he makes the striking and true statement that "Secretary Worcester is the only American who has achieved a secure and important place solely as a colonial administrator and statesman." This is not too strong a statement. This book should be on the desk of every legislator in Washington and Manila.

The second work is by a former governor of the Philippines (now the ambassador for the United States in Japan), but he was aided so continuously by Frank W. Carpenter, formerly the very efficient executive secretary of the Philippines, that it would have been but simple justice to have brought out the work under the names of Forbes and Carpenter. On the whole the volumes contain an excellent survey of the working of the several administrative units of the Philippine government (not quite complete it is true, but fairly so), as well as materials relating to the Spanish occupation, the war with Spain, the American occupation and inauguration of civil government, the sum-

mer capital, the various peoples of the archipelago, the Church and State, the Filipino attitude, political parties, the end of the Taft régime and the Harrison government, and later events, including a résumé of the independence movement. On the whole, Forbes has written with a great deal of restraint and has packed much information into his two volumes. He might have given a great deal more information on various matters, for he had access to all sources of evidence, but it is yet probably too early to publish everything unreservedly. That must be left for a future generation. He has appended thirty-seven appendices to the second volume, most of which are basic documents (there are a few useful appendices also to Worcester's work). The bibliography is very incomplete, and curiously enough the two excellent books by Commissioner Elliott have not been listed. In the work also there seems to have been a tendency to minimize or omit mention altogether of the services of some officials who made excellent records; and to praise others more highly than they deserved—this of course being a very human failing. For their general information, however, the books must stand beside those of Elliott, LeRoy, Worcester, and a few others.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*Catálogo de los Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla.* By FRANCISCO NAVAS DEL VALLE. Preceded by an *Historia general de Filipinas*, by PABLO PASTELLS, S. J. Tomo VI. (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1931. Pp. cdxvii, 279. 30 pesetas.)

The sixth volume of this monumental work (the preceding five of which have been noted in this REVIEW) carries the history of the Philippines from 1609 to 1618, that is, from the arrival of the provisional governor, Rodrigo de Vivero, to the arrival of the regularly appointed governor, Alonso Fajardo de Tenza. The printing of the volume was concluded on February 18, 1931 (colophon), but the year, while given correctly on the outside cover, is wrongly given as 1930 on the title page. The history by Father Pastells opens with the foundation in the Philippines of the province of the discaled Augustinian Recollects, the first convent of the order being that of San Juan de Bagumbayan (or St. John of New Town). Something is given of their first missions and the founding of various convents

of the order. As in preceding volumes, Father Pastells proceeds along several well defined paths—the ecclesiastical (including missions); the political; the danger from the Moros; relations with other parts of the orient, especially Japan and the Moluccas; relations with other Europeans; and important events. Perhaps the most important events are the treaty with the Japanese and the attempt of the Japanese to inaugurate a Japanese-Spanish trade; the expedition by Sebastián Vizcaíno; the expedition by the energetic Governor Juan de Silva against the Dutch who have begun to make settlements in the Moluccas or Spice Islands, and threaten Spanish hegemony; and the death of Silva; while of course, the progress of colonization and of the missions are constant themes.

As before, Father Pastells quotes at length from many documents in order to illustrate his points; and as before, there is a lack of historical criticism, but some excellent notes are found. However, this is a history that can be used by those who wish to write a critical history of the Philippine Islands under Spain, for which purpose it will, indeed, be indispensable. On pp. xxx-xxxvi are found some excellent statistical tables of receipts and expenditures—a subject, by the way, that has not yet received sufficient attention.

The list of documents is continued by Nos. 7945-10316, and includes many important single documents or groups of documents. Some of them have been translated in the Blair-Robertson series, but most of them have never yet been published. Indeed, the *Catálogo* forms a very notable publication, the importance of which (for the history of the Philippines) can scarcely be overemphasized.

The Compañía General de Tabacos announces that future volumes of the series will consist of two parts—one, the history by Father Pastells and the other, the *Catálogo* of documents. This has been made necessary by the great increase in the number of documents for each year, as the history of the Philippines has unfolded. The price for both parts, however, will remain the same as for the single volumes hitherto—namely, thirty pesetas. The publishers deserve a great deal of praise for visualizing this publication and for carrying it through in so generous a manner. It is to be hoped that the present disturbances in Spain will not cause the suspension of this important work.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.



*A History of Spanish Literature.* By ERNEST MÉRIMÉE. Translated, revised and enlarged by S. GRISWOLD MORLEY. (New York: H. Holt and Company [1930]. Pp. xv. 635.)

The first edition of the author's *Précis d'histoire de la littérature espagnole* was published in Paris in 1908. It was reprinted in 1918, and a thoroughly revised and enlarged edition was published in 1922. From this the present translation was made. A Spanish translation was made at the suggestion of Dr. Amunátegui Solar, rector of the University of Chile, by Enrique Nercasseau y Morán and published in Santiago in 1911. Dr. Amunátegui Solar said: "No conozco ningún texto de enseñanza de esa asignatura con igual claridad, exactitud de datos y proporción de todos sus párrafos y capítulos".

These data attest the popularity of this model manual. Martínez Ruiz ("Azorín") the distinguished Spanish critic said of it: "Yo creo que éste es el más discreto, el más perfecto de todos los manuales de nuestra historia literaria", and Menéndez Pidal wrote favorably in his review: "Ese manual es un poderoso estimulante de la atención del discípulo, como modelo de claridad en la concepción personal de la difícil historia literaria y como intento de relacionarla con la civilización de la época y de los países vecinos".

In view of the favorable criticisms of the two eminent Spanish authorities conveniently quoted from the translator's preface, the present reviewer would hesitate long before expressing an unfavorable opinion of this handbook. He is, however, spared this embarrassment by his own conviction, one unmoved by the weight of such great authority, that in Mérimée's admirable work the general reader as well as the meticulous scholar has certainly one of the very best brief histories of Spanish literature and culture.

This is no mere compilation. It is, on the contrary, well written and is eminently *readable*. It well exemplifies Madame de Staël's characterization of French authors in its perspicuity. In critical estimates the author is popular rather than severely erudite, a method of treatment that adds to the value of the work for the student and general reader. As the Chilean translator says: "El libro . . . no es de tono doctoral y sentencioso, sino de estilo ameno e intencionado que lleva ligeramente al lector hasta el conocimiento completo de las nociones de una historia de la literatura castellana". His expositive method is excellent. The historical background is carefully filled in,

contemporary literary movements in other European countries are outlined, summaries or analyses of operating forces, trends and motives of the different periods and schools are given with fine critical insight, authors and their works are brought to the reader's attention with proper emphasis or subordination. In a word in Mérimée's manual we have a brief but complete and sufficiently detailed history of Spanish literature presented in an interesting and readable form. Its comparative method, broad conception of literature, historical orientation, and lucid arrangement make it a most useful handbook not only for the student, but also—and especially—for the general reader and the specialist in other fields to which is ancillary an acquaintance with the letters and culture of Spain.

Tribute must be paid to Dr. Morley for his really excellent work of translation, revision and enlargement. We quote from his preface:

New material of two sorts has been added, however. First, the translator has been allowed to utilize an annotated, interleaved copy of the *Précis*, 1922, in which the author, and after his death [in 1924] his son Henri, himself a distinguished Hispanist, had set down material for the next revision. This accounts for many inserted names and phrases, and some new paragraphs. Second, the translator has rewritten and added with some freedom. . . . These [changes] consist of adaptations to meet the needs of English-speaking readers; insertion or alteration to accord with the results of the most modern research; and the addition, for the contemporary period, of new names and new material to bring the work to *date*. . . .

The bibliography of the *Précis* has been much enlarged, but it is still, of course, narrowly selective. . . . Works of reference to individual authors are still placed in notes, as in the original work. A general bibliography has been added at the end.

This is a modest statement. In truth the additions, corrections, and rearrangements of the translator add notably to the value of the work. The historical summaries and sketches of contemporary literatures have been largely amplified. The bibliography has been expanded and brought up to date. Naturally, the section on the contemporary literature has been most signally increased by the addition of new names and by bringing up to date the record of literary activities of the authors mentioned in the *Précis*.

Inevitably, minor errors have crept in; for example, Ramón María Tenreiro's first name is given as Rafael on p. 567; Cristóbal de Villalón is said (p. 204) to have died "after 2558"; the date of Mira de

Amescua's *La desdichada Raquel*, is given as 1635, on p. 356, and as 1625, on p. 387.

In conclusion, Mérimée's work as supplemented and revised by Dr. Morley is certainly one of the best manuals of Spanish literature available. It has clarity, proportion, and a penetrating appreciation of individual and of national characteristics. Its perusal would seem to justify the author's statement that Bouterwek and Schlegel "had a real basis for assigning the first rank among all literatures to that of Spain from the standpoint of national value".

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## NOTES AND COMMENT

### A SOUTH AMERICAN MYTH: THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES INSCRIPTION

The Christ of the Andes, on the boundary between Argentina and Chile, is famous not alone for its grandeur and beauty, or its historical significance as a monument to the peaceful settlement of a boundary dispute that for over a quarter of a century threatened war between Chile and Argentina. The feature of it that seems to stand out above all others in the minds of most authors who have written of it is a Spanish inscription which is said to be on the base, the English of which reads:

Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than the people of Argentina and Chile break the peace to which they have pledged themselves at the feet of Christ, the Redeemer.

The story of this inscription has appeared in at least ten books, in one well-known American encyclopedia, in *The World Almanac*, and in many magazine articles, and has been mentioned several times in the *National Geographic Magazine* and in the publications of the Pan American Union.<sup>1</sup> The inscription has also been frequently quoted in peace literature.

In December, 1925, I visited the monument in company with a Hispanic American friend. We were both familiar with the story of the inscription, and on inspecting the monument were greatly sur-

<sup>1</sup> Among the books which give the inscription are: Isaiah Bowman, *South America, A Geography Reader* (Chicago, Rand McNally and Company, 1928) p. 76; Frank G. Carpenter, *The Tail of the Hemisphere* (New York, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1923), p. 145; E. C. Brooks, *Stories of South America* (Richmond, Johnson Publishing Company, 1922), p. 179; Annie S. Peck, *The South American Tour* (New York, George H. Doran Company, 1913), p. 205; Harry L. Foster, *If You Go To South America* (New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1928), p. 268; Mary W. William, *The People and Politics of Latin America* (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1930), p. 610 n; Nevin O. Winters, *Chile and Her People of Today* (Boston, L. C. Page and Company, 1912), p. 162; Harry Weston Van Dyke, *Through South America* (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1912), p. 223.



prised not to find it or anything remotely resembling it. On the front of the pedestal was a bronze tablet with two feminine figures (presumably representing Argentina and Chile) clasping hands, with a short inscription of which we failed to make an exact record.<sup>2</sup> On the Argentine side of the monument was another plaque with some names and dates, but no inscription similar to the one of tradition. No other plaques were on the monument, nor was there any engraving on the stone pedestal. We took particular pains to examine the monument for indications of some plaque that might have been removed or broken loose by the elements, but could find nothing to suggest that any other plaque, or direct inscription on the stone, had ever been there.

Subsequent correspondence with practically every American writer who has mentioned the inscription failed to reveal any evidence of its existence. In no case could the story be definitely traced to any source outside of the United States, or to any other than a secondary source. Both the National Geographic Society and the Pan American Union were most courteous and helpful, but neither organization was able to furnish any evidence as to the existence of the inscription. No one who had written of the inscription could testify to having seen it or could produce a photograph of it. An inspection of about twenty photographs, some taken at the dedication and others as late as 1930, failed to show any evidence that any plaques, other than the two which were there in 1925, had ever been on the monument.<sup>3</sup> Friends who visited the monument in 1927 and 1929 reported that they could not find the inscription. The replica of the monument in the Peace Palace at The Hague carried no such inscription when inspected in 1930, but as none of the plaques which are on the monument are on the replica, this could not be considered evidence as to the non-existence of the inscription on the monument.

The monument was dedicated on March 13, 1904. As early as June 26, 1904, an article about the monument, written by Carolina Huidobra, a Chilean woman then resident in the United States, appeared in the *Boston Herald*. This article, which was later republished

<sup>2</sup> Several writers give the English of this inscription as "He is our peace who hath made both one", and this checks substantially with my recollection of the wording.

<sup>3</sup> Many photographs of the monument have appeared in books and periodicals, but none is sufficiently detailed to make possible the reading of the inscriptions, although one or both plaques can be seen in most of the photographs.

in the July, 1904, issue of *The Advocate of Peace*, the organ of the American Peace Society, makes no mention of the now famous inscription. The first mention of the inscription I have been able to locate is in an editorial entitled "The Christ of the Andes", in the April, 1905, issue of *The Advocate of Peace*. In the last paragraph of the editorial appears this passage:

On the granite base are two bronze tablets, one of them given by the Workmen's Union of Buenos Ayres, the other by the Working Women. One of them gives the record of the creation and erection of the statue; on the other are inscribed the words: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace to which they have pledged themselves at the feet of Christ the Redeemer."

This editorial, with a few minor changes of phraseology, was subsequently republished in pamphlet form by the American Peace Society, and has been widely distributed. The American Peace Society is not able to tell from what source their account of the inscription was taken.

*The Independent* of October 5, 1905, published an article about the monument by Señora de Costa, an Argentine woman who had been instrumental in the movement for its erection.<sup>4</sup> Señora de Costa makes no mention of the inscription, but an editor's note at the top of the article tells of the inscription and gives it in English translation. Mr. Hamilton Holt, then editor of *The Independent*, writes me that he believes this note was based on an account in a pamphlet which had been sent to him. This translation of the inscription, however, differs in several details from the version as given in *The Advocate of Peace*, and *The Independent's* account may well have been taken from some source other than *The Advocate of Peace*. The story does not seem to have made rapid progress on the printed page, for the next account I can find is in another article by Carolina Huidobra, in the May 7, 1908, issue of *The Independent*.<sup>5</sup> This article gives both the translation and the Spanish of the inscription, the first time that I can find the original text.

Two years later the story of the inscription appeared in both the Spanish and English editions of the *Bulletin of the International Union of the American Republics* (the predecessor of The Pan Amer-

<sup>4</sup> "The Christ of the Andes," pp. 804-806.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1031-1034.

ican Union);<sup>6</sup> and in the *National Geographic Magazine*.<sup>7</sup> The Spanish version, as given in the *Bulletin of the International Union of the American Republics* has four textual variations from the inscription as given two years before by Carolina Huidobra, and the translation differs in minor details from all the English versions previously mentioned.<sup>8</sup> The first mention of the inscription in a book was in 1912.<sup>9</sup> Since then frequent references to it have been made both in books and in periodicals, but all of these appear to have been based upon the earlier accounts referred to above.

An analysis of these various descriptions reveals one bit of internal evidence that would alone throw doubt on the accuracy of some of the accounts. Six writers who mention the inscription state that another plaque is on the monument. Four of them say that this other plaque contains dates and statistics, but two say that it carries the inscription "He is our peace who hath made both one". In 1925, the monument carried both of these "second" plaques. Moreover, in three books that make no mention of the more famous inscription the statement appears that the inscription "He is our peace who hath made both one" is on the monument.<sup>10</sup> No account of the monument mentions three plaques.

Although the monument has a wide fame in South America, the inscription has received very little publicity there. Conversations and correspondence with several well-informed Chileans revealed no one who knew of such an inscription, although from two sources in Chile came the statement that the words were familiar, but were associated either with a speech or a newspaper comment at the time of the dedication. Search finally led to the discovery in the Library of the Pan

<sup>6</sup> *Boletín de la Oficina Internacional de las Repúblicas Americanas*, XXX. (February, 1910), 394-395; *Bulletin of the International Union of the American Republics*, XXX. (May, 1910), 198-199.

<sup>7</sup> Harriet Chalmers Adams, "The First Transandine Railroad from Buenos Aires to Valparaíso," May, 1910, p. 414.

<sup>8</sup> Not counting variations in spelling and punctuation, at least eight English versions of the inscription have appeared in this country.

<sup>9</sup> Nevin O. Winters, *op. cit.*, Harry Weston Van Dyke, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Francis E. Clark, *The Continent of Opportunity* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1907), pp. 186-187; Jesse Page, *The Land of The Peaks and The Pampas* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1913), p. 140; *El Cristo de Los Andes*, p. 126, quoting the March 9, 1904, issue of *El Bien*, a Catholic newspaper of Montevideo (Buenos Aires, 1913).

American Union of a book, *El Cristo de Los Andes*, published in Buenos Aires in 1913 by La Asociación Sudamericana de Paz Universal, containing a detailed history of the monument, a description of the plaques placed on it, many letters sent to Señora de Costa, extracts from several newspaper accounts published a few days before the dedication, and the speeches made at the dedication. There is nothing in any of the descriptions of the monument to suggest this inscription or anything resembling it. References are made to two plaques which were originally intended to be placed upon the monument, but which were never put there. These plaques are not described in detail, but there is nothing to indicate that either carried the now world-famous inscription. But the peroration of the speech of Ramón Angel Jara, archbishop of Santo Carlos de Ancud, ended with the following words:

When future generations rise to these heights, carried in the arms of steam, they shall not find, as at Thermopylae, written in blood on the naked stones that testament of the heroic Spartans: "Here we gave our lives to defend the laws of the fatherland." Rather, they shall arrive at this summit and in the bronze of this glorious monument they shall see in letters of fire a sublime legend:

"Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace sworn to at the feet of Christ the Redeemer."<sup>11</sup>

A hasty reading of this speech might make the reader believe that the archbishop had stated that these words were actually on the monument. However, it is quite clear from the context that these words were not on the monument at the time of its dedication, any more than the testament of the Spartans was literally written in Greek on the stones at Thermopylae. The speech seems, moreover, to locate definitely the origin of the mythical inscription, for the Spanish of the closing words were identical with the Spanish version of the inscription as given in the *Bulletin of the International Union of the American Republics* in 1910.

That the inscription is not on the monument now, and has not been there for some years, is certain. Despite the suggestion made to me by several persons that the inscription was originally there and was later removed,<sup>12</sup> the evidence points strongly to the fact that the

<sup>11</sup> *El Cristo de Los Andes*, p. 150.

<sup>12</sup> From an American long resident in Argentina, who kindly made some inquiries at my request, comes the only evidence other than hearsay in support



whole story is a myth, which originated through a misreading of the speech made at the dedication. It is not clear how the story came to the United States, but once printed it is not surprising that it should have been widely circulated, for the sentiment seemed so appropriate for a peace monument. It is true that no great historical issue is involved, but aside from the wide publicity which the inscription has received, the story of the inscription should interest the historian as a contemporary laboratory example of the process by which an historical myth originates and grows.

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of the idea that the words were ever on the monument. He writes me that at present the inscription is not on the monument, but he feels certain that it was there at one time. He states that he has seen photographs of the inscription, and that several persons in Buenos Aires can testify to having seen the inscription on the monument. He quotes from the letter of an American who visited the monument in April, 1931, and reported that the plaque bearing the inscription, which he had seen when he visited the monument eleven years before, had been removed. Historians know, however, that it is easy for a careful observer to be misled in a matter of this kind. A picture of the monument, carrying the statement that the inscription was on it, might easily lead one to believe that he had seen a photograph of the inscription, and a person who visited the monument, and then read accounts of the inscription, might readily believe that he had seen the inscription.

## THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE IN SOUTH AMERICA

The nineteenth century unfolded a panorama of struggle for the South American market. Each rising industrial power turned its eyes to that continent and struggled to win a place in the South American sun. During the nineteenth century and in the twentieth, prior to the World War, England was the traditional holder of first place. A moderate quota of the business went to France. The South American trade of the other Latin countries was inconsiderable and fluctuating, though Italy could point to a certain degree of accomplishment. The young industrial powers, the United States and Germany, were struggling to oust their decadent rivals.

The economic earthquake of the war shattered the routine of life. The United States made a triumphal leap into the breach, and seemed to be in the way of achieving the economic conquest of the South American continent. But the post-war period shows a comeback on the part of European competition. France's position is somewhat improved at the return of stability; Germany has, by and large, regained its former place. Italy has made remarkable gains. The share of the United Kingdom in export trade to South America, which was 25 per cent in 1913, had fallen to 21 per cent in 1928, and in imports from South America has shrunk from 28 per cent to 19 per cent. The United Kingdom is the only country to lose its position in South America.

This tendency is not a new one. Even prior to the war it was apparent that Great Britain's position was being threatened in the northern part of South America by the penetration of the United States, and in the south by that of Germany. This loss is especially striking in view of the fact that financially Great Britain still plays the leading rôle in South America.

Financial relations between England and South America had their origin in the support given to the colonial revolts against the home countries. In the quest for markets, the former workshop of the world had a special interest in winning and educating South America as a customer. In this manner England became the chief market for South American governmental credit. The states-in-the-making went

à la Polonaise to England to exchange their indebtedness for London gold. Thus, in 1822 came Peru, in 1824, Brazil and Argentina, and the others followed after.

Often England had to share the griefs and worries of the borrowers. The still unwritten history of their relations is in part a story of agreements and disagreements over new and more lenient terms and forms of payment. For generations, it was a prolonged affair between an old, astute, and experienced money-lender and a youth with a golden future, and it reached a dramatic climax in the Baring crisis of 1890. England had invested, altogether, £3,800,000,000 up to 1913. British investments were estimated in 1929 at £4,500,000,000.

Of course, the growth of United States investments in South America after the war was unique. The United States' investments in South America were estimated in 1913 to be \$173,000,000, as against \$2,294,000,000 in 1929. Great Britain has been able to do no more than foster and supply with capital its already existing connections, but it still holds the first rank.

In the current short-time financing of South American trade as well, London is still first. Prior to the war England

had been acting as the banker of the entire world, particularly by her system of acceptance credits, thus financing a vast majority of transactions involving the importation and exportation of goods between nations. The Hindoo, the Chinaman, the Japanese, the Australian, the African from Cape Colony to Egypt, the Canadian, the South American, the citizen of the United States, and those of a large number of the European States, all had used the English credit market.<sup>1</sup>

And this supremacy England maintained in South America in spite of all efforts of the New York banks: the dollar bill of exchange could not compete with the sterling and the perfection of the London discount market.

But even in the financial field, where it still holds first rank, Great Britain has begun to feel the competition of the United States. Public-utility financing and organization was extensively undertaken, and several industries monopolized by the United States (the story of the elimination of British influence in the meat-packing industry in South America is an exciting romance) and the British had to withdraw. Many English companies changed owners and became Americanized.

<sup>1</sup> Address of Hon. Paul M. Warburg, in *Proceedings of the First Pan-American Financial Conference*, issued by direction of the secretary of the treasury, 1915, pp. 166-167.

The still only partially successful attempts to push the use of the dollar bill of exchange are not underestimated by the British.

Great Britain's position in South America was menaced in all fields of its activity, and the time when to hear the British talking about South America "you might suppose they were speaking of something they owned and you would not be so very far from the truth"<sup>2</sup> belongs now to the past.

The British are especially upset about losing ground in South America, when the other trading powers are systematically regaining their pre-war positions and sometimes winning new ground. Even the recent weakening of the United States position has not strengthened the British one. The British economy seems to be suffering from an organic defect.

The diagnosis was made by Viscount d'Abernon's Commission. His mission in the year 1929 signalized the official entrance of Great Britain in the commercial battle. D'Abernon succeeded in arranging the famous trade agreement with Argentina, under which each country undertakes to buy up to £8,700,000 in value of products of the other. But his achievement embraces more than this particular transaction; he studied the situation, analyzed it, and arrived at a full comprehension of it. Even among the usually very able English reports on overseas trade, the "Report of the British Economic Mission to Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay" takes a special rank. This report of an acute and experienced observer emphasizes that the backwardness of the European forms of production is the main cause of the North American success in South America (only in South America?). In particular English production "is in a sense old-fashioned". The main field of the North American success lies in the supply of *new commodities*. "The trade which the United States had during the war and post-war period in textile piece-goods, coal, iron and steel, and chemicals, has, to a large extent, been lost to European competitors". But "the decrease in the British percentage and increase in the American has been caused not so much by the displacement of old trades as by *the development of new trades* in which we have taken an insignificant share". This *demand for new commodities* "absorbs the fresh purchasing power and directs a large portion of the old. The average Argentine household thinks more now in terms of motor

<sup>2</sup> Hiram Bingham, *Across South America* (Boston, 1911), p. 31.



cars, gramophones and radio sets than of Irish linen, Sheffield cutlery, and English china and glass''.

In the same manner, the British subject, who is proud that it is *his* railroads that tie this continent together, has been completely outdistanced in *new* departments of transport. In fact, just as the textile industries were the foundation of British imperialism, and just as the German rise to world economic power was based on chemistry, so the *automobile* brings the United States to its position on world markets.

By no means is it a question of the United States eliminating its former competitors, completely emancipating itself from Europe and taking over the South American trade. It is simply that where an article is adapted to methods of mass production under mass organization, the United States will win out in the export of that article, to South America or to any other region in the world.

The report of Lord d'Abernon emphasizes the malady not only of the English, but primarily of the European system of production. Europe ought to be economically americanized in order to be able to compete in these fields. Of course the position of Great Britain in South America is psychologically favorable: there are no sentiments of family, of neighborhood, of love or of hate, of fear or of coquetry, but old traditional good business relations. We must agree with the report, that "it is no exaggeration to say that, on equal terms, large classes in South America are more than willing to deal with Great Britain". Even the European rivalry does not threaten Great Britain. France's trade is specialized and French investments in South America are welcome for Great Britain in line with the policy of financial coöperation with France. Spain has its own troubles. Possible German gains would not be grudged by England, itself interested from the standpoint of reparations in increase of German exports.<sup>3</sup> There is only one rival, Britain's traditional rival in South America—the United States.

<sup>3</sup> In a recent statistical publication issued by the comptroller-general's department of the Chilean Government, referring to imports to Chile during 1930, it is stated: "For the first time in the history of our country imports from Germany have exceeded those from Great Britain. Comparing the situation in 1930 with that of the previous year, the following countries improved their relative participation in imports to Chile—namely, Germany, United States of America, and France; their improvement was made at the expense of Belgium and Great Britain."

Geographically, the British offensive has been opened on the whole South-American continent, with exception of the northern coast, which can be considered economically as a continuation of Central America. The British have had success even in Brazil, where the fear of the United States hardly exists. The engagement of Sir Otto Niemeyer for the reorganization of the Brazilian currency is significant of a new European inclination, perhaps a reply to the policy of Washington during the recent Brazilian revolution.

It is impossible to reorganize the production of Great Britain all at once. And gradually adapting the new system, launching several attempts (The Lancashire Corporation is a typical example), the British entered the commercial battle, applying the ways and means of strategy recommended by the report. They agreed with Lord d'Abernon, who is looking forward "to rapid development of commercial possibilities in South America with greater confidence than in any other part of the world", and adopted this new-fashioned optimism. The world depression is encouraging this optimism and the British are concentrating their efforts on the South-American market.

A swarm of special missions was dispatched to South America. Economic missions organized by the Overseas Trade Department in strong collaboration with industry have become a favored vehicle of British propaganda. South Africa, Egypt, East Asia, China, Canada—all these have been investigated recently by such delegations. But South America became the field of greatest application of British energy. The mission of 1929 had a more theoretical character. At present, however, they are becoming more concrete and specialized in their aims. Here are a few examples: the Sheffield mission to South America visited five South-American republics, made four hundred and sixty-nine calls on importers and manufacturers, interviewed seventy-nine ministers and officials, made many speeches and collected four hundred samples of goods which had been imported by foreign competitors. The mission returned to England with fresh impressions, and information concerning the market and the competitors, they spread propaganda for their products, and came in touch with the customers.

A trade mission, numbering approximately two hundred members, of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and various agricultural interests of Canada, was

organized in the year 1931 for the purpose of visiting Ibero-America in order to promote trade relationships between various countries of South America and the Dominion of Canada. The members of the trade commission visited the Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Cuba, and their itinerary included a visit to Buenos Aires to attend the British Empire Fair in which Canada is participating.

These efforts on the part of Great Britain found a new manifestation in the recent British Empire Exhibition in Buenos Aires and in the prince's visit to South America. Sir Malcolm Robertson, former British ambassador in Argentina, in a speech before The Royal Empire Society, emphasized that the exhibition and the prince's tour were "a solemn effort in a time of as great difficulty and distress as our country had ever known". Like the conquistadores and bandeirantes of the old days, the Englishmen are undertaking a rediscovery, a reconquest of South-American markets. But the royal super-salesman is advertising modern airplanes and motor cars.

The Report of the Economic Mission of 1929 does not neglect the importance of cultural influence in the commercial battle. Of course it exaggerates the "marked similarity of ideas between South-American peoples and ourselves" (p. 55) and it fails to give any new or original suggestions. But the movement toward increase of the British cultural influence is of course in vogue in England. Numberless clubs, societies, and chambers of commerce are with ardent fervor devoting their meetings to Ibero-American problems, the commemoration of the centenary of Simón Bolívar was more solemnly and more widely observed in London than in other countries. The newly founded Anglo-Spanish and Spanish-American Institute of London, besides other aims, attempts to enhance the business value of salesmen as a counter-offensive against "our trade rivals, especially the United States of America and Germany". The management plans to set up similar institutes in other British cities and to promote their establishment in appropriate Ibero-American centers.

And in the cultural field as in the commercial the official head of the movement is the Prince of Wales, who has identified himself with the Pro-Ibero-American movement, who is traveling, speaking, preaching, animating, learning and teaching, dining and dancing for this purpose.

The recent English policy in Ibero-America emphasizes that it is non-political. Lord d'Abernon advises "declaration and pursuit of a

mutual and reciprocal economic policy" "free from political admixture". This feature is expected to invigorate "the good feeling towards England which is historic in South America". Such a declaration ought to evoke in Ibero-America a comparison with the policy of the biggest rival—the United States of America and the English press is fond of making much of the charges against the rival in Ibero-America—against its "aggressive" trade.<sup>4</sup> But the British also are developing a positive program for their "non-political" policy: an association of Ibero-American and British capital (Lord d'Abernon suggests it, in particular for Argentine). "It would provide community of interest in the welfare of the enterprise, and lead to more favorable public opinion in times of difficulty".

The main new feature in the recent British offensive is its corporative character. All English industries, like the textile industry in particular, are looking for help through organization of corporative work: the study of markets, the exhibition and the rest—all is corporative work. And there are inclinations toward the extension of England's export trade along the lines of Lord d'Abernon's attempt in Argentina, through state or corporative agreements with the South-American purchasing interests. If we recall that the "Moseley Manifesto" and several other political declarations in England also preach combined corporative work in domestic industry, we can not but regard Britain's traditional economic individualism as at a crisis.

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<sup>4</sup> See *The Times* for October 3, 1930, "South American Unrest."



## RENEWED INTEREST IN THE EDUCATION OF THE INDIANS OF PERU

One of the most encouraging developments which has taken place in Peru since the fall of the Leguía régime has been the efforts taken by the government to ameliorate the lot of the indigenous elements of the population. For some time, the ministry of public instruction has maintained a so-called "Dirección de Educación Indígena". As is well known, its activities have been little more than nominal. With the appointment last August of Dr. Luis Enrique Galván as director of this bureau the situation has taken a radical change for the better. Dr. Galván is a brilliant young educator who has long interested himself in the tragic fate of the native races of Peru. For a number of years he has been giving courses in the Instituto Pedagógico Nacional. On receiving his new appointment he requested permission to continue his work in the Instituto with a maximum of six hours and donate his salary for propaganda in favor of education among the Indians. This request was granted by Sr. Gálvez, president of the Junta de Gobierno.

The arduous task to which Dr. Galván, as head of the Dirección de Educación Indígena, has addressed himself, may perhaps best be expressed in his own words:

Hay que levantar al indio a su categoría de hombre libre; hay que dignificar al genuino peruano, dotándole de todos los atributos inherentes al hombre social de este siglo, a fin de que cumpla su destino en el mundo; hay que hacerle dueño de la tierra donde posa su planta, la riega con el sudor de su rostro, y donde levanta su choza mísera; hay que hacerle dueño de los instrumentos con que trabaja y busca su frugal sustento. Hay que hacerle sentir las necesidades de una vida digna, en armonía con los dictados de la civilización contemporánea, y otorgarle los medios naturales para su satisfacción, consiguiendo así, su felicidad y la de su ayllu, núcleo de un socialismo superior.

As an initial step in carrying out this ambitious program, the government, on the initiative of Dr. Galván, has issued invitations to the First National Congress of Indigenous Education, to be held in Lima from February 1 to 10, 1932. Some notion of the scope and character of this gathering may be gained by reference to a few of the twenty topics which are to serve as basis for discussion.

General nature of the Indian School. What general orientation should be followed in the education of the Peruvian aborigines?

The problem of bi-lingualism in Peru. Should the use of Quechua and Aymará be permitted in the education of the aborigines? What is the most effective method of teaching the natives Castilian?

The campaign against adult illiteracy in the three regions of Peru.

Ambulatory schools, and their rôle in Indian education.

The training of native teachers. Best type of normal rural schools for the *Sierra* and the *Montaña*.

Study of folklore and typical regional customs as a basis for the activity of the Indian schools.

Maximum and minimum programs of rural education.

The present condition of the Indian communities. How may they best fit in with Indian education?

The scientific study of the child in the *Sierra* and the *Montaña*.

Relation of domestic industries to the Indian schools.

The rôle of the school in combatting such evils as alcoholism, the use of coca, superstitions, witchcraft, etc.

Health instruction in the Indian schools.

Under the editorship of Dr. Galván the Dirección de Educación Indígena has launched a monthly magazine entitled *Quípus*, the first number of which appeared in October, 1931. In addition to the program of the congress already discussed, there are articles on such themes as "La Agricultura como Centro de Enseñanza Indígena", "La Masa Indígena; Valioso Capital Humano, Caudal de Energías", "La Música Vernacular, Nexo de Unión de Nacionalismo". There are also articles dealing with education of the aborigines in other parts of Spanish America, notably in Mexico. Finally, there are a number of songs, the words of which are written in Quechua and Spanish and the apostrophe to Bolívar by Choquenhuanca printed in Spanish, Aymará, and Quechua.

All those interested in the efforts of Peru to improve the status of the native races, "los legítimos señores del Nuevo Mundo"—to use Dr. Galván's expression—will find this new magazine of compelling interest.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

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Professor Rafael Altamira y Crevea of Madrid has made announcement that he has given up various private functions which he has hitherto exercised in Spain. Among these is that of councilor of the

Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, that of president of the Patronato of public libraries; and that of Director of "Colección de Documentos Inéditos de América" and of "Colección de Monografías Hispano-Américanas". Professor Altamira gives this notification so that inquirers may not have the trouble and annoyance of writing to him about these matters to no purpose.

Dr. Affonso E. Taunay, the great Paulista scholar, has been elected a member of the Academia Brasileira. This is the greatest distinction that can come to any Brazilian man of letters or historian.—P. A. M.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, it will be remembered, authorized and directed its publication committee to arrange for the financing and publishing of a quarterly review to begin early in 1932. It is now reported that progress in securing financial support has been so encouraging that the committee is ready to accept applications for subscriptions to the review, which it is expected will begin publication in March, 1932. The subscription price is announced as \$4.00. This quarterly, it is announced, will not merely devote itself to the Pacific Coast of the United States but will include in its scope the entire basin of the Pacific on the theory that the western American States are indissolubly united to this area and that the whole region is bound in the next few years to have increasing importance in the affairs of the world and demand correspondingly the attention of scholars and trained observers. The scope of the review will thus be regional but the interpretation will be liberal. One number will take the place of the *Proceedings* for the publication of papers read at the annual meeting. The publication committee consists of John C. Parish, University of California at Los Angeles; Donald G. Barnes, University of Washington; Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon; George P. Hammond, University of Southern California; Louis K. Koontz, University of California at Los Angeles; Percy A. Martin, Stanford University. The review will fill a need and should have a large circle of readers.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### SOME RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE SOUTH AMERICAN COLLECTION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARIES

In 1927, through the generosity of Mr. Juan Cebrián of San Francisco, there was compiled a catalogue of all published materials pertaining to Spain and Spanish America or written in the Spanish language which were in the libraries of the University of California (*Spain and Spanish America in the University of California Libraries*, 2 v., Berkeley, 1928-1930). This very comprehensive and helpful work includes all accessions to the several libraries through June 30, 1927. Since that date and particularly in the past two years the South American section of the main library has been notably increased.

Several sets of importance have been added to the materials on northern South America, among the more important of them being the *Boletín de historia y antigüedades* (19 v., Bogotá, 1903-1931); the diaries of Francisco de Miranda (*Archivo del general Miranda*, 6 v., Caracas, 1929-1930); and the invaluable Lecuna collection of Bolívar documents (*Cartas del libertador*, 10 v., Caracas, 1929-1930) recently reviewed in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. The last-named, in particular, comes as a welcome addition to the 32-volume *Memorias* of General O'Leary and the 14-volume Blanco collection of Bolívar materials which the library already possessed.

Likewise, the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, 63 volumes, chiefly of documents and contemporary accounts on the wars of independence period in South America, has been completed, while a number of old and scarce items have very recently been received from the estate of the late Professor Bernard Moses. These latter, which are now being accessioned, are particularly strong in Peru.

The greatest increase, however, has been in the Brazil and Río de la Plata groups, to which over five hundred bound volumes have been added. Among the recent Brazilian additions, probably the most noteworthy are *Documentos interesantes para a historia e costumes de São Paulo*, 43 volumes bound in 12, and Escragnolle Taunay's *His-*



*toria geral das bandeiras paulistas*, of which six volumes have been published to date. Single volume additions include Aguiar, *Vida do marques da Barbacena* (2 volumes in one, Rio de Janeiro, 1896); Boiteux, *A marinha da guerra brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1913), a valuable work for Brazilian naval history from 1808 to 1831; and several state histories. These additions are a valuable increment to an already large collection which includes 96 volumes of the 105 volume *Revista do instituto historico e geographico brasileiro* and similar publications of four of the state historical institutes.

Increase in the Paraguayan section, too, has been heavy, especially as regards collected documents and more general works on the Paraguayan War. Prominent in this list are General Barreto's *A guerra Lopezguaya*, of which four volumes have been published to date; the *Anales diplomatico y militar de la guerra del Paraguay* of Benites, López's foreign minister; and an as yet incomplete set of Luis Alberto de Herrera's invaluable collection of documents on Uruguay's diplomatic relations in that period (*La diplomacia oriental en el Paraguay*), not to mention some three dozen other titles on the same general subject.

Proportionately, however, the increase in materials pertaining to the history of Uruguay has been greatest. Over eighty volumes have been added. These fall for the most part in three groups: general materials; wars of independence; and the Rivera-Oribe era. Among the first the most notable by far is a complete set of the invaluable *Revista histórica* (12 v., Montevideo, 1907-1924). In addition, the library has acquired ten different general histories of Uruguay. Of these the most outstanding are Acevedo, *Historia del Uruguay* in seven volumes; Araújo, *Historia compendiada de la civilización Uruguaya*; and Zum Felde's *Proceso histórico del Uruguay*, all three of which are valuable for social and economic studies.

The wars of independence or Artigas period has likewise been greatly strengthened. Bauzá's *Historia de la dominación española en el Uruguay*, whose third volume is devoted entirely to the period 1808-1817, formerly available only in the first edition, was recently acquired in the much enlarged three-volume second edition (Montevideo, 1892). Other recent additions include Araújo's *Diccionario popular de historia . . . del Uruguay*, a helpful three-volume guide to the colonial and Artigas periods; Acuña de Figueroa's *Diario histórico del sitio de Montevideo, 1813-14-15*, a contemporary account in

verse; Hugo Barbagelata's one-volume collection of Artigas documents from the French archives (*Sobre la época de Artigas*, Paris, 1929), and a number of works directly on Artigas. Of these last, the best are Pereda, *Artigas, 1784-1850* (4 v., Montevideo, 1930) and Acevedo, *José Artigas, jefe de los orientales* (3 v., Montevideo, 1909-1910), especially valuable for its critical treatment of its subject.

Prominent among the works covering the era of the struggle between Rivera and Oribe are De-María's *Anales de la defensa de Montevideo* (4 v. in 2, Montevideo, 1883-1887), a three-volume collection of Herrera y Obes's *Correspondencia privada y diplomática*. Both of these works are invaluable for the little understood Uruguayan phase of the epoch which terminated with the fall of Rosas.

Though the proportionate increase in the Uruguayan material has been greatest, numerically the augmentation of Argentine materials eclipses it with a sum total of over two hundred volumes. These are chiefly provincial and local histories; biographies and biographical histories, particularly works on Bernardo de Irigoyen, Hipólito de Yrigoyen, and Bartolomé Mitre; specialized works, as Captain Caillet-Bois's very valuable *Ensayo de historia naval argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1929); and, above all, published documentary collections and memoirs.

The last-named group includes Pedro de Angelis's *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia . . . del Río de la Plata* in the five-volume second edition (Buenos Aires, 1910); the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires (edición facsimilar)* in six volumes (1910) and Antonio Zinny's one-volume condensation of the *Gaceta* (Buenos Aires, 1879); the 28-volume *Archivo de Mitre*, a collection of General Mitre's private papers published by the Museo Mitre; the five-volume *Contribución documental para la historia del Río de la Plata*, a Museo Mitre compilation of documents of the wars of independence; *Partes oficiales y documentos relativos a la guerra de la independencia argentina*, a similar but non-duplicating four-volume collection; Neptalí Carranza (ed.), *Oratoria argentina*, the collected speeches, etc., of Argentinians prominent in public affairs, in five volumes; the rare *Bibliografía histórica del Río de la Plata*, edited by Antonio Zinny (Buenos Aires, 1878); the *Archivo de Jujuy* in three volumes; and private collections such as the *Memoria del general Ferré*, a thousand-page work containing Ferré's voluminous correspondence; the *Epistolario de los generales Ferré y Paz*; *Documentos del archivo de Pueyrredón* in four

volumes; and the Gómez collection of Artigas documents from the provincial archives of Corrientes (*El general Artigas y los hombres de Corrientes*, Montevideo, 1929).

Outside the field of history as defined under Library of Congress classification, the University Library has likewise acquired several notable works pertaining to the Río de Plata countries. Among the best of these are the rare, monumental work of Héctor Miranda, *Las instrucciones del año XIII*, the most thorough study yet made of Artigas's constitutional achievements; Professor Ravignani's excellent three-volume *Historia constitucional de la República Argentina*; and *Trabajos legislativos de las primeras asambleas argentinas*, a three-volume collection edited by Uladislao S. Frías (Buenos Aires, 1882-1886). Likewise, there should be mentioned such works as Fray José Pacífico Otero's *Los franciscanos en el Uruguay* and Algorta Camusso's *El padre Larrañaga*, the biography of Uruguay's great statesman-priest, which though primarily devoted to ecclesiastical history, are nevertheless of general value as well.

The Bancroft Library, too, though its main field is America north of Panamá, has likewise made some notable acquisitions in the South American field, prominent among them the *Acuerdos del extinguido cabildo de Buenos Aires* in thirty-four volumes; a similar but less extensive collection on Lima, *Los cabildantes de Lima*, in three volumes; and González Suárez, *Historia general . . . del Ecuador* (9 v., Quito, 1890-1903).

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## CONTRIBUTION TOWARD A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE O'HIGGINS FAMILY IN AMERICA

The following is a contribution toward a bibliography on the O'Higgins family in America, with particular reference to the outstanding members, Ambrosio, Viceroy of Peru, and his son Bernardo, first president of independent Chile.<sup>1</sup> Although an attempt has been made to include material on the Chilean revolution only in so far as it is of importance from a biographical point of view, the life of Bernardo is in a broad sense the history of the Chilean revolution, and the literature cited necessarily bears to a great extent on that great event.

The literature cited has been consulted almost exclusively in the Library of Congress, the Library of the Pan American Union, and the New York Public Library. It has been supplemented, however, by numerous additional titles of valuable references not personally consulted, which add considerably to this study, and in order to give a more comprehensive picture of the wealth of material in this field. The list does not purport to be complete, and it is hoped that future additions will tend to make it as much so as possible.

Anonymous literature, governmental and other official publications where the author's name is not available, and periodicals have been classified by their titles. Accession numbers have been given in a number of cases as an added convenience. The following abbreviations are used: PAU—Pan American Union; LC—Library of Congress; NYPL—New York Public Library. The list follows:

1. Albano, Casimiro: Memoria del Excmo. Sr. don Bernardo O'Higgins, Capitan Jeneral en la República de Chile, Brigadier en la de Buenos Aires, Gran Mariscal en la de Perú i socio

<sup>1</sup> Compiled under the auspices of the Inter-American Bibliographical Association.



protector en la sociedad de agricultura etc., encomendada por la Sociedad de Agricultura al socio doctor Albano Casimiro. Santiago, Imprenta de "La Opinion", 1844. 267 pp.

Written by a brother of Juan Jacobo Albano, on whose estate Bernardo spent his early years. As contemporary of O'Higgins, Albano's work is especially valuable.

2. Álvarez, Alejandro: La diplomacia de Chile durante la emancipación y la sociedad internacional americana, por Alejandro Álvarez. (Consultor del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores) Madrid, Editorial América, 1916. 274 pp. [PAU Chi F3094.A5]

Throws some light on Bernardo O'Higgins as a diplomat.

3. Amor de la Patria, José (pseud.): Catecismo político-cristiano dispuesto para la instrucción de la juventud de los pueblos de la América meridional. Reprinted in *Colección de documentos relativos a la Independencia de Chile*, XVIII. [LC F3094.C69]

Although Juan Martínez de Rozas is generally credited with the authorship of this patriotic propaganda, some attribute it to O'Higgins.

4. Amunátegui Reyes, Miguel Luis: Compendio de la historia política i eclesiástica de Chile. 6th ed. Valparaíso, N. Ezquerria, 1863. 175 pp. [LC F3081.A52]

Brief references to Ambrosio and Bernardo O'Higgins.

5. ——— Don Antonio García Reyes i algunos de sus antepasados a la luz de documentos inéditos. Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1929. 2 v. [PAU Chi CS319.G165]

Volume I contains data on Ambrosio O'Higgins based on documentary sources.

6. ——— Don Bernardo O'Higgins—juizado por algunos de sus contemporáneos según documentos inéditos. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 4th quart. Santiago, 1917. pp. 5-108.

See below.

7. ——— Don Bernardo O'Higgins—juizado por algunos de sus contemporáneos según documentos inéditos. Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1917. 111 pp. [PAU F3094.05A6]

Reviewed in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 4th quart., 1917, 475 pp. Book contains much valuable and reliable data.

8. ——— Don Manuel de Salas. Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1895. 3 v.

Contains copies of many documents relating to both Ambrosio (pp. 153-163 Volume III) and Bernardo.

9. ———— Ensayos biográficos. Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1893-1896. 3 v. [PAU Chi F3055.A6]

In Volume I. 66-74, there are two letters from José Manuel Borgoño to Bernardo O'Higgins dated November 10, 1822, and February 10, 1823.

10. ———— La dictadura de O'Higgins. Memoria presentada a la Universidad de Chile en la sesión solemne que tuvo lugar el 11 de diciembre de 1853. Santiago, Imprenta Barcelona, 1914. 463 pp. [LC F3094.A543; and PAU F3094.A6d]

Early edition reviewed in *La Crónica*, Santiago, December 3, 1863, No. 8, in a letter to the author from don Domingo F. Sarmiento.

11. ———— Los precursores de la independencia de Chile. Santiago, Imprenta Barcelona, 1909-1910. 3 v. [PAU Chi F3094.A6p]

For data on Ambrosio O'Higgins, see pp. 312-316 and 322 of Vol. I; on Bernardo, p. 568 of Vol. III.

12. Amunátegui Reyes, Miguel Luis y Gregorio Victor: La reconquista española: Apuntes para la historia de Chile, 1814-1817. Memoria premiada por la Facultad de Humanidades el año 1850. Santiago, Imprenta Barcelona, 1912. 512 pp. [LC F3094.A565; and PAU Chi F3081.A8]

13. Amunátegui Solar, Domingo: Bosquejo histórico de la literatura chilena. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 3 quart. Santiago, 1915, pp. 447-463.

Beginning on page 451, there is given a discussion of O'Higgins's relation to certain accounts of the revolution. Part of a long continued article.

14. ———— Los próceres de la independencia de Chile. Santiago, Balcells y Cia., 1930. 272 pp. [PAU F3091.A4]

First printed in *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* Santiago.

15. ———— Noticias inéditas sobre don Juan Martínez de Rozas. Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1910. 82 pp. [PAU Chi F3094.M3A65]

The following comment made in *Revista Chilena de Historia de Geografía*, 1st. quart., 1911, p. 142. "It shows us Rozas as responsible for the electoral intervention in our country, which to date has been attributed to O'Higgins [Bernardo], because of his actions in the election of the Congress of 1812." (Translation.)

16. Angromedo, José Antonio: Carta al autor de la memoria histórica titulada "Chile durante los años de 1824 a 1828", leída en la sesión solemne de la Universidad de Chile, octubre 12 de 1862. Santiago, Imprenta Correo, 1862. 24 pp.

See author "Chile durante los años de 1824 a 1828," Melchor Concha i Toro.

17. Anguita, Ricardo: *Leyes promulgadas en Chile desde 1810 hasta el 1º de junio de 1912*. Santiago, Imprenta Barcelona, 1912. 5 v.

Volume I. 1-114, much on Bernardo. Also see index, Volume V.

18. Appleton and Company, Robert (ed.): *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York, Robert Appleton & Company, 15 v.

Short biographies of both Ambrosio and Bernardo O'Higgins on page 225.

19. Ascencio, Juan: *Acusación pronunciada ante el tribunal de jurados de Lima por el doctor don Juan Ascencio contra el "Alcance al mercurio peruano" publicado por don Carlos Rodríguez i denunciado por el gran mariscal del Perú don Bernardo O'Higgins*. In *Colección de Historiadores i documentos relativos a la independencia de Chile*. Santiago, Imprenta Miranda, XII. 107-418. [LC F3094.C69.v12]

20. "Bernardo O'Higgins" in *Diario Oficial*, Santiago, 1925. pp. 727.

Decree No. 432 changing the name of "Avenida de las Delicias" to "Avenida Bernardo O'Higgins".

21. Azpurúa, Ramón: *Biografías de hombres notables de Hispano América*. Mandado publicar por el Presidente de Venezuela, Fco. L. A. Alcantara. Caracas, Imprenta Nacional, 1877. 4 v. [PAU F1407.A9]

Contains many short biographies. See in II. 195-221, "Bernardo O'Higgins." Touches on Ambrosio O'Higgins. Originally appeared in *El Deber*, Valparaiso, August 20, 1876. Follows Benjamin Vicuña MacKenna, "Biografía del buen patriota Don Bernardo O'Higgins."

22. Barra, Miguel de la: *La América*. 2nd edition. Lima, Imprenta de Masías, 1864. 2 v.

The first edition was published as *Historia del descubrimiento, conquista coloniale e independencia de América*. 2 v., 1857-1858, Imprentas de "El Pais" y "Chilena".

23. Bárros Arana, Diego: *Compendio de la historia de América*. Obra aprobada por la Universidad de Chile para la enseñanza de este ramo en los colejos. Santiago, Imprenta de "El Ferrocarril", 1865. 2 v.

Material on O'Higgins in this volume also contained in *Historia Jeneral de Chile*, by the same author.

24. ———— *Compendio elemental de historia de América*. Obra mandada adoptar por el Ministerio de Instrucción Pública para la enseñanza del ramo en las escuelas y colejos del Estado. Santiago, Imprenta de "El Ferrocarril", 1865. 424 pp.

Material on O'Higgins in this volume contained in amplified form in same author's *Historia Jeneral de Chile*.

25. ——— *El jeneral Freire*. Santiago, Imprenta de Julio Belín i Cia., 1852. 124 pp.

Contains a number of references to Bernardo O'Higgins. General Freire was a close friend and later an enemy of don Bernardo.

26. ——— *El país* (Santiago).

A paper published daily in Santiago in which in 1857, the author published a collection of documents relative to the independence of Chile, a number of which refer to General O'Higgins or to his times.

27. ——— *Historia jeneral de Chile*. Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1884-1902, R. Jover, etc., 1884-1902. 16 v. Printer varies; XIV., J. M. V. de Jover; XV., J. M. de Palacios.

This work deals in great detail with both Ambrosio and Bernardo, and is to be considered an authoritative source of original information on the subject. See Volumes VI. to XIV. inclusive.

28. ——— *Historia jeneral de la independencia de Chile*. Santiago, Imprenta "Chilena", 1854-1858. 4 v.

Deals considerably with Bernardo O'Higgins.

29. ——— *Obras completas*. II., "Historia de America". Santiago, Imprenta Barcelona, 1914. 682 pp. [PAU F1401.-B2t2]

For material on Bernardo O'Higgins see pp. 382-395 and 406-442.

30. ——— *Obras completas*. XII., "Estudios Biográficos". Santiago, Imprenta Barcelona, 1914. 393 pp. [PAU F1401.-B2t12]

For material on Bernardo O'Higgins, see Chapter III, pp. 39-45.

31. Benavente, Diego José: Don José Miguel Carrera. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. Santiago, pp. 296-314.

32. ——— *Memoria sobre las primeras campañas en la guerra de la independencia de Chile*. Presentada a la Universidad de Chile en el segunda año de su instalación por. . . Santiago, Imprenta de "La Opinion", 1845. 200 pp.

Also published in 1856, Imprenta Chilena, Santiago; in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 4th quart., 1921, p. 460; *Anales de la Universidad*, 1845, pp. 122-243.

33. Bertling, Hans (ed.): Documentos históricos referentes al paso de los Andes efectuado en, 1817 por el general San Martin. Concepción, Imprenta "Concepción", 184 pp.

Issued as appendix to his *Estudios sobre el paso de los Andes*. Contains "Diario de operaciones del Brigadier don Bernardo O'Higgins."



34. Biografía del buen patriota don Bernardo O'Higgins, jeneral chileno. Paris, Libreria de Rosa i Bouret, n.d. 180 pp.

This is but a résumé of the biography by Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna entitled "El Ostracismo del Jeneral O'Higgins."

35. Blanco Cuartín, Manuel: El general O'Higgins. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1916. pp. 173-193.

Pp. 636-637 throw light on relations between O'Higgins and Blanco Encalada.

36. Brackenridge, M.: Voyage to South America performed by the order of the American Government, in the years 1817 and 1818, in the Frigate "Congress". By M. B. Secretary to the Mission; 2 v. 1819, Baltimore.

37. Bosquejo histórico de Chile. In *La Revista de Chile*, Santiago, September 18, 1920. 10 pp.

Has data on Ambrosio O'Higgins as governor of Chile.

38. Bravo Hayley, Julio P.: La convención de Concepción (12 de enero de 1812). In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 3rd quart. Santiago, 1913, pp. 91-106. Also X. No. 14, 1914, p. 371.

O'Higgins's relations to this convention and his relations with Carrera are discussed.

39. Briseño, Ramón: Efemeridades o fastos chilenos, por Ramón Briseño. Valparaiso, Imprenta de "El Mercurio", 1861. 77 pp.

40. ——— Memoria histórica-Crítica del derecho público chileno desde 1810 hasta nuestros días. Presentada a la Universidad de Chile en la sesión solemne del 14 de octubre de 1849. Santiago, Imprenta de Julio Belim i Ca., 1849. 516 pp.

41. Bulnes, Gonzalo: Últimas campañas de la independencia del Peru. Carries summary of diary of O'Higgins in the Ayacucho campaign.

42. Brockhaus, F. A.: A short description of the republic of Chile. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhause, 1901. 107 pp. [PAU Chi F3063.C28]

See Chapter II, pp. 9-25 for data on Bernardo O'Higgins. Picture of Bernardo. Also in German: "Kurze Beschreibung der Republik Chile," pp. 9-26. Also in Spanish: "Breve descripción de la República de Chile," pp. 9-24.

43. Bustos Pérez, Vicente: Historia de Chile, adaptada al nuevo programa con ortografía de la Real Academia Española. Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1928. 209 pp. [PAU Chi F3081.B8]

Data on Bernardo, pp. 62-87 and 113-122.

44. Cabrera, Arturo: El doctor don Hipólito de Villegas, primer ministro de hacienda del director don Bernardo O'Higgins. Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1912. 50 pp. [PAU Chi F3095.U7C1]

Data on relations of O'Higgins and Villegas.

45. Caldeleugh, Alexander, Esq.: Travels in South America during the years 1819-20-21; containing an account of the present state of Brasil, Buenos Aires and Chile. London, John Murray, 1825. 2 v.

Section on Chile. Also in Spanish.

46. Caldeleugh, Alejandro: Viajes por Sud America durante los años 1819, 20 i 21. (Sección relativo a Chile.) Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1914. 215 pp. [PAU Chi F3063.C12]

See Chapter IV, pp. 73-109 for data on O'Higgins. Translation of original English.

47. Carranza, Adolfo P.: San Martín, su correspondencia (1823-1850). 2nd edition. Madrid, Bailly-Bailliere e Hijos, 1910, 1911. ix, 336 pp., 1 illus.

Contains San Martín's letters to O'Higgins. See *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 1st quart., 1911, Santiago.

48. Carrera, José Miguel: Segunda carta del ciudadano José Miguel Carrera, a uno de sus correspondientes en Chile. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 4th quart. Santiago, 1921, pp. 372-403.

Many accusations against O'Higgins.

49. ———— Manifiesto que hace a los pueblos de Chile el ciudadano José Miguel Carrera. In *Colección de Historiadores y Documentos relativos a la independencia de Chile*. Santiago, 1918. VII. 64, et seq.

This pamphlet and the one entitled "Un Aviso a Los Pueblos de Chile" were originally printed by Carrera personally on a poor press with the aid of friends, including don Manuel Gandarillas and don Diego José Benavente.

50. ———— Borrador de un manifiesto de don José Miguel Carrera. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 4th quart. Santiago, 1921, pp. 245-268.

Contains Carrera's view on O'Higgins. This is the same as his "Manifiesto que hace a los pueblos de Chile . . ."

51. Castaño, Mayor Fasola: Cancha Rayada 1818-19 de Marzo-1918. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 2nd quart. Santiago, 1918, pp. 455-473.

Describes the part of O'Higgins in the battle.

52. "Chile" Santiago, Impreso por El Gobierno de Chile, 1915. 30 v.  
[PAU Chi F3063.C4]

Data on Bernardo O'Higgins, pp. 63-65.

53. Chile y la independencia del Peru, 1821-1921. Documentos históricos oficiales. Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1921. 79 pp. incl. illus., plates, 8°.

Contains O'Higgins's proclamation to people of Peru.

54. Chisholm, A. Stuart M.: The Independence of Chile. Boston, Sherman, French Co., 1911. 330 pp., one illus, and map.  
[PAU Chi F3094.C4]

In a number of places discusses the birth of O'Higgins (Bernardo) his actions at Chacabuco, etc. A very extensive review and critical article is found in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 3rd Quart., 1912, pp. 464-471. See especially, pp. 465-468.

55. Cleveland, Richard J.: A narrative of voyages and commercial enterprises. Cambridge, published by John Owen, 1842. 2 v.  
56. Coffey, Thomas: In South American waters, "O'Higgins and the freedom of Chile". Dublin, M. H. Gill & Sons, Ltd., 1924. 716 pp. [NYPL HCY20 1074]

57. Colección de leyes i decretos del Gobierno desde 1810 hasta 1823. Publicada con autorización i revisión competente. Santiago, Imprenta Chilena, 1846. 392 pp.

Contains many documents relative to Bernardo O'Higgins.

58. Colecciones H. E. C. y Bruno: Historia de Chile. 4th edition. Santiago, Escuela Tipográfica "La Gratitud Nacional", 1928. 2 v. [PAU Chi F3091.p46]

Data on Bernardo O'Higgins on pp. 80-102, vol. 2.

59. Colegio de los SS. CC.: Historia general de América y especial de Chile. Santiago, Imprenta "Cervantes", 1911. 416 pp.

Filled with inaccuracies, some of which relate to the lives of Ambrosio and Bernardo O'Higgins. Some of these inaccuracies are noted in a review article in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, Santiago, 4th Quart., 1912, pp. 504-513. See especially pages 505, 506.

60. Compendio de las campañas del ejército de los Andes. Buenos Aires, 1825.

Has material on O'Higgins in the march across the Andes.

61. Concha i Toro, Melchor: Chile durante los años de 1824 a 1828—Memoria histórica leída en la sesión solemne de la Universidad de Chile de 12 de octubre de 1862. Santiago, Imprenta "Nacional", 1862. 376 pp.

See Angromedo, "Carta al autor de la memoria historica. . . ."

62. Cordemay, C. de: "Au Chile". Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1899. 267 pp. [PAU Chi F.3063-C8]

For data on Bernardo see pp. 63-66.

63. Cortés, José Domingo: Diccionario biográfico Americano. 2nd edition. Paris, Tipografia Lahure, 1876. 552 pp. [PAU E17.C82]

This book contains a short biography of Demetrio O'Higgins [p. 350] as well as Bernardo [pp. 347-350.]

64. Covarrubias, Luis: Monedas chilenas desde la independencia hasta la fecha. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 2nd quart. Santiago, 1914, pp. 161-185.

Contains comment on relations of O'Higgins to coins of his time.

65. Cuerpos legislativos de Chile.

I. 59 (Bernardo O'Higgins appointed deputy for Los Angeles).

I. 168 (Bernardo O'Higgins reelected to congress and absent because of illness.)

66. Cruz, Ernesto de la: Epistolario de don Bernardo O'Higgins, Capitan Jeneral y Director Supremo de Chile, Gran Mariscal del Perú, y Brigadier de las Provincias Unidas del Rio de la Plata. Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1916-1919. [LC F3093.035]

Many footnotes by editor, as well as summary of life. Letters are arranged periodically. Valuable and fairly complete.

67. Cruz, Ernesto de la: Epistolario de Portales (1822-1837). Santiago, Dirección general de Talleres Fiscales, 1930. 415 pp., indexed.

Contains correspondence Portales to Bernardo O'Higgins.

68. Desmadryl, Narciso (ed.): Galería nacional o colección de biografías i retratos de hombres celebres de Chile, escrita por los principales literatos del país. Dirigida i publicada por Narciso Desmadryl, autor de los grabados i retratos; Hermojenes de Irissari, revisor de la redacción. Santiago, Imprenta "Chilena", 1854. 2 v.

This work contains, besides Bernardo, the pictures and biographies of the principal figures in Chile in the time of O'Higgins. The biography of O'Higgins is written by Juan Bello [Vol. I, p. 70].

69. Destruge, Camilo: Documentos inéditos de la independencia. *Boletín de la Biblioteca Municipal*. Guayaquil, October, November, 1917, pp. 424.



70. Diaz, Teniente Coronel F. J.: La batalla de Chacabuco (February 12, 1917) Relación histórico y estudio crítico (con dos planos del campo de batalla anexos). In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 3rd quart. Santiago, 1917, pp. 181-223. Touches in detail on actions of O'Higgins.

71. Diaz Mesa, Aurelio: Historia de Chile. Santiago, Imprenta "Barcelona" 1915. 344 pp. [PAU Chi F3081.D5]

72. ——— Patria vieja y Patria nueva (Leyendas y episodios chilenos. Tomo I). Santiago, Imprenta Universo, 1927. 344 pp. [PAU Chi F3094.D5]

For data on Bernardo O'Higgins see 13-21 pp.

73. Documentos justificativos sobre la expedición libertadora del Peru. Santiago, Imprenta de "El Ferrocarril", 1861.

Refutes material in *Los Memorias de Lord Cochrane* relative to the relations of Lord Cochrane with the government of Chile.

74. Dundonald, Thomas, Earl of: Memorias de Lord Cochrane. Valparaiso, Talleres Tipográfica de la Armada, 1905. 133 pp. [PAU Chi F3094.C6M5]

First printed in *Revista Chilena de Historia Geografía*, Vol. XIV, pp. 305 et seq.

75. ——— Narrative of services in the liberation of Chile, Peru and Brasil from Spanish and Portuguese domination. London, James Ridgway, 1859. 2 v. [PAU Chi F3094.C6M5]

Two translations of this book are: "Memorias de Lord Cochrane, recientemente publicadas en Londres bajo el título de 'Servicios Navales que en Libertar a Chile i al Peru de la dominacion española rindio el Conde de Dundonald'" Valparaiso, Imprenta de "El Mercurio", 1860. 132 pp.: and "Memorias de Lord Cochrane, Conde de Dundonald, etc." Paris, M. Bilboa, 1863.

76. Echevarria y Reyes, Anibal: Geografía política de Chile. Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1888. lxxxix, 455 pp. [PAU Chi F3063.E1]

For data on O'Higgins see following pages: Ambrosio, lvi-lxii, Bernardo—lxvii-lxx.

77. Edwards, Agustín: Peoples of old. London, Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1929. 342 pp. [PAU F3091.E4]

For data on Ambrosio O'Higgins see pages 307-317. Picture of Ambrosio on page 308.

78. Edwards, Alberto: Apuntes para el estudio de la organización política de Chile. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 2nd quart. Santiago, 1913, pp. 307-339.

See Chapter III, pp. 307-318 "O'Higgins y el ensayo de la dictadura militar." Chapter IV, pp. 319-339. "Era de los Pipiols." Other chapters not related to O'Higgins.

79. *El Argos de Chile*. Santiago, Imprenta de El Gobierno, 1818. 1 v. Nos. 1-22. [LC F3051.A69]

80. *El ferrocarril*, Santiago, April 18, 1884.

Contains "Fe de Bautismo" of Bernardo O'Higgins.

81. *El O'Higginista*. Santiago, Imprenta Republicana, 3 vol. 40 pp.

First published January 18, 1831, edited by don José J. de Mora, don Francisco Guna, and others.

82. *Chile. Universidad de: Escritos de don Manuel de Salas y documentos relativos a él y a su familia*. Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1910. 1 v. Santiago, Imprenta Barcelona, 1914. 2-3 v.

Contains a number of documents relating to Ambrosio O'Higgins.

83. *Espedición libertadora del Peru, salida del puerto de Valparaiso el 20 de agosto de 1820*. Santiago, Imprenta del "Gobierno", 1820. 12 pp.

Bernardo O'Higgins helped organize the expedition.

84. *Estracto de la causa criminal seguida contra los Carrerras ante el gobierno intendencia de Mendoza por el atentado de conspiración contra las autoridades constituidas*. Santiago, Imprenta del "Gobierno". 33 pp.

85. Evans, Henry Clay (Jr.): *Chile and its relations with the United States*. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1927. 243 pp.

Bibliography on pp. 221-234. Data on Ambrosio on p. 8 and 35; on Bernardo on pp. 20-23, 25, 29, 36, 42, 51, 60 and 121. Also contains a number of references to documentary sources [LC E183. C4E93] [NYPL HIF316969F] [PAU Chi F3088. V4E9].

86. Feliú y Cruz, Guillermo: *El consul Poinsett y las campañas de la Patria vieja*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1924, pp. 345-360.

Mentions O'Higgins in relation to campaigns of independence and to Poinsett.

87. ———— *La elección de O'Higgins para Director Supremo de Chile*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1917, pp. 337-370.

Details election proceedings.

88. ———— *La imprenta Federal de William P. Griswold y John Sharpe, 1818-1820 (conclusion)*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1922, XLI. 145-172.

This press functioning in the period of O'Higgins' dictatorship published many documents and much material relating to Bernardo. These are reviewed in this article.

89. Figueroa, Pedro Pablo: *Diccionario biográfico de extranjeros en Chile*. Santiago, Imprenta Moderna, 1900. 167 pp.

Short biography of Ambrosio.

90. ———— *Diccionario biográfico general de Chile (1550-1887)*. Santiago, Imprenta Moderna, 1888.

Biographies of Bernardo (387-390) and his son, Demetrio (390).

91. Galdames, Luis: *Estudio de la historia de Chile*. 7th edition. Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1929. 530 pp. [PAU Chi F3081.G24] [LC F3081.G16 (1914)]

See pp. 203-276 for material relating to Ambrosio, and pp. 151-152 on Bernardo (7th edition). This book has run through many editions but paging in each edition vary only slightly.

92. Gana y López, Rafael: *Memorias del Sargento Mayor de ejército y servidor de la independencia, don Rafael Gana y López (1816-1823)*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. Santiago, 1914, pp. 299-323; 1st quart., 1915, pp. 191-225; 3rd quart., 1917, pp. 241-246.

Footnotes by Nicanor Molinare. Memoirs of a contemporary of Bernardo, filled with references to the General.

93. Gandarillas, Manuel: *Don Bernardo O'Higgins—Apuntes de la revolución de Chile*. In *El Araucano*, Number 176, January 24, to Number 199, July 4, 1834.

Reprinted in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart., Santiago, 1921, pp. 459.

94. Garay, Juan Carlos: *San Martín y O'Higgins en el destierro (según correspondencia) 1823-1842*. Buenos Aires, Estudio Mayor del Ejército, 1918. 101 pp. Supplement to *Revista Militar*. [NYPL HCC p. v. 205 no. 1]

95. García del Río, Juan: *Biografía del Jeneral Don José de San Martín por Juan García del Río, bajo el anagrama de don Ricardo Gual i Jaen*. London, 1823. 1 v., 35 pp.

Appeared in Santiago de Chile in 1825 as "Vida del Jeneral San Martin." Also in Paris as "Biografía del Jeneral San Martin acompañada de una noticia de su estado presente, i otros documentos importantes" por el doctor J. B. Alberdi, 1844, 62 pp. Also published under title "Biografía del Jeneral San Martin," with several changes in appendix and additional documents Buenos Aires, Imprenta de Mayo, 1854.

96. García Ferrer, Manuel Gregorio: Rason de lo que he presenciado y mucha parte que no e bisto mean contado personas honrradas de una y otra parte, desde el ano dies y para que lo sepan lo pongo en este cuaderno. From manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional. Dedicatory letter to Manuel Montt, dated April 5, 1877. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1924, pp. 25-48.

Account of an eye witness of the revolution. Touches on O'Higgins.

97. García Reyes, Antonio: Memoria sobre la primera escuadra nacional. Leída en la sesión solemne de la Universidad de Chile el 11 de octubre de 1846. Santiago, Imprenta de "El Ferrocarril" 1846. 109 pp. 2nd ed. Valparaiso, Imprenta de Chile, 1864.

Influence of O'Higgins on formation of Chilean navy.

98. Gay, Claudio: Historia física i política de Chile, según documentos adquiridos en esta República durante doce años de residencia en ella i publicada bajo los auspicios del Supremo Gobierno. Paris, 1844—27 v. of text, 2 v. atlas.

The following references to O'Higgins mentioned in "Apuntes para un diccionario biografico, p. 459. *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 3rd quart., 1922: Gay. "Historia Chile," vols. VI, VII and VIII.

99. Gendarillas, Manuel José: Don Bernardo O'Higgins; apuntes históricos sobre la revolución de Chile. In "Colección de historiadores i documentos relativos a la independencia de Chile". Santiago, G. E. Miranda, 1905. [LC F3094.C69 v14]

Although the name is spelled differently, this appears to be a reprint of articles under same title by Manuel Gandarillas published in "El Araucano" in 1834.

100. Gervinus, G. G.: Histoire du dix-neuvieme siècle depuis les traites de Vienne, par G. G. Gervinus, professeur a l'Universite de Heldeberg. Traduit d' Allemand par J. F. Minszen. Paris, Librairie Internationale, 1864-1868. 21 v.

Volumes VI, VII, and VIII contain references to O'Higgins.

101. Gómez, D., Enrique (ed.): Chile—Progreso económico y social de la República de Chile. Santiago, Imprenta "El Esfuerzo", 1928. [PAU Chi F3058.C4]

Describes progress during times of Ambrosio (p. 16-17) and Bernardo (p. 19-22).



102. ——— Enciclopedia de Chile—1925. Santiago, Imprenta “Nascimento”. [PAU Chi F3058.G7]

Bernardo O'Higgins and the independence on pp. 74-79; biography on pp. 87-90.

103. Graham, Maria [Colcott, Maria Dundas Graham]: Journal of a residence in Chile during the year 1823—and a voyage from Chile to Brasil in 1823. London, Printed for Longman, Hurre, Orme Brown and Green, 1824. 512 pp. [PAU Chi F3063.G7e]

Published in Spanish as: “Diario de residencia en Chile durante al año 1822 i de viaje de Chile al Brasil en 1823. 2 v. Translated by José Valenzuela D. from original English. Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1902. 279 pp. [PAU Chi F3063. G73]

104. Gutiérrez, Ramón Huidobro: La batalla de San Carlos—15 de Mayo de 1813. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 2nd quart. Santiago, 1913, pp. 287-306.

Contains several interesting sidelights on O'Higgins's actions during first battles of war for independence.

105. Haigh, Samuel, Esq.: Sketches of Buenos Aires, Chile and Perú. London, Effingham Wilson, 1831. 434 pp.

106. Hall, Captain Basil: Extracts from a journal written on the Coasts of Chile, Perú and Mexico in the years 1820, 1821 and 1822. Edinburgh, 1824. 3 v.

A critical review of this book is found in the periodical *Variedades o mensajero de Londres*. London, 1824.

107. Hancock, Anson Uriel: A History of Chile. Chicago, Charles H. Berzel & Co., 1893. 471 pp., illus., map, indexed.

Considerable references to O'Higgins and the “O'Higginistas”. Portrait.

108. Heras, Juan Gregorio de las: Carta del Coronel las Heras a don Claudio Gay sobre la sorpresa de Cancha Rayada. Letter dated Santiago, August 1, 1841. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1911, pp. 118-134.

An eye-witness account, includes movements of O'Higgins in this battle during which he was severely wounded.

109. Historia del sitio de Rancagua. *Zig-Zag*. Santiago, October 3, 1914.

110. Hunelus Gana, Jorge: Cuadro histórico de la producción intelectual de Chile. Santiago, “Biblioteca de Escritores de Chile”, September 1910. [PAU Chi F3051.B6 v1]

Material on O'Higgins in relation to literature pp. 75-79.

111. Iñiguez Vicuña, Antonio: Vida de don Bernardo Monteaudo. Santiago, Imprenta "Chilena", 1867. 1 v. 199 pp. 4°.

Monteaudo, an active monarchist is believed by some to have influenced O'Higgins.

112. Johnston, Samuel: Diario de un tipógrafo Yanqui en Chile y Perú durante la guerra de la independencia. Madrid, Editorial América, 1919. 225 pp.

Introduction by Armando Donoso. Makes little mention of O'Higgins. Johnston founded the first newspaper of the Republic of Chile, "La Aurora".

113. La Aurora de Chile. Santiago, February 13, 1812 to April 1, 1813. [LC F3094.A93] (Reimpresión paleográfica plana y renglón.)

Later succeeded by "El Monitor Araucano".

114. La tentativa monárquica en Sud América. Los documentos secretos de Monteaudo. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 2nd quart. Santiago, 1917. 67 pp.

Mentions O'Higgins's dictatorial policies.

115. Lara E., Teniente Coronel Alberto: La batalla de Chacabuco—Relación histórica y estudio crítico militar. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. 1917, pp. 382-414; 4th quart. 1917, pp. 261-294; 1st quart. 1918, pp. 88-123; 2nd quart. 1918, pp. 125-162; 3rd quart. 1918, pp. 218-273; 4th quart. 1919, pp. 317-353.

Detailed account of battle gives minute account of O'Higgins's movements.

116. Lastarria, José V.: Bosquejo histórico de la Constitución del Gobierno de Chile, durante el primer período de la revolución desde 1810 hasta 1814, por don J. V. Lastarria. Obra premiada por la Facultad de las Humanidades de la Universitaria de Chile en el concurso de 1847. Santiago, Imprenta "Chilena", 1847. 212 pp.

Touches on the constitution under the government of Bernardo O'Higgins.

117. Lavalle, José: Ambrosio O'Higgins. In *Revista de Lima*, 1861.

This was a series of articles on Ambrosio and was the first publicity given to the humble origin of the viceroy.

118. Lecuna, Vicente: Cartas del Libertador. Caracas, Librería y Tipografía del Comercio, 1929-30. 10 v.

Contains many letters of Bolívar—O'Higgins in volumes II, III, IV, V and IX. See index volume X.

119. Lastra, Francisco de la: Carta de don Francisco de la Lastra a don Bernardo O'Higgins. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 3rd quart. Santiago, 1915, pp. 423-425.

Dated at Santiago, June 22, 1814.

120. Library of Congress—Documentary: Handbook of manuscripts in the Library of Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1918. 750 pp., indexed.

Among the letters of Jeremy Robinson, who was "agent for seamen" in South American ports, is a letter to Bernardo O'Higgins (p. 352).

121. Los últimos días de la patria vieja (Documentos para su historia). In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 2nd quart. Santiago, 1914, pp. 371-441.

This is published from the manuscript collection of Antonio Varas, and is a copy of documents sent to Joel Robert Poinsett by Chile's presiding *junta*. It includes a number of important documents relating to and by O'Higgins.

122. Maitland, Francis G. G.: Chile: Its land and people. London, Francis Griffiths, 1914. [PAU Chi F3058.M2]

Carries information on both Ambrosio and Bernardo on pp. 42-54.

123. Manning, W. R.: Diplomatic correspondence of the United States concerning the independence of South America. New York, Oxford University Press, 1925. 3 v.

Carries innumerable references to both Ambrosio and Bernardo. Well indexed.

124. Martines, Frai Melchor: Memoria histórica sobre la revolución de Chile desde el Cautiverio de Fernando VII hasta 1814. Escrita de orden del Rei por. . . Valparaíso, Imprenta Europea, 1848.

125. Mathison, Gilbert Farquhar, Esq.: Narrative of a visit to Brasil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands during the years 1821 and 1822. With miscellaneous remarks on the past and present state, and political prospects of those countries. London. Printed for Charles Knight. 478 pp.

Summarized and commented upon by J. T. Medina, in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1922, pp. 16-46.

126. Matta Vial, Enrique: Apuntes para un diccionario biográfico. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1922, XLIII. 300-532.

Ambrosio O'Higgins, p. 459; Bernardo O'Higgins, pp. 459-460; Tomás O'Higgins, p. 460.

127. ——— Como se administraba justicia a los Carrerinos durante el Gobierno de O'Higgins. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. Santiago, 1914, pp. 347-363.

Throws little light on O'Higgins himself.

128. Mauret Carmaño, Alberto: *Heróes y Patricios*. Santiago, Imprenta El Globo, 1910. 164 pp.

Verse on "O'Higgins."

129. Medina, José Toribio: *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago durante el período llamado de la Patria vieja (1810-1814)*. Publicadas en ocasión de la independencia de Chile. Publicación ejecutada por cargo de la Municipalidad de Santiago. Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1910. 359 pp.

Several of these Acts relate to O'Higgins.

130. ——— *Biblioteca Hispano Chilena (1523-1817)*. Santiago, Impreso y Grabado en casa del autor, 1897-1899. 3 v.

Medina may be considered a very reliable source of information, ranking in this case with the Vicuña Mackenna brothers, Benjamín and Carlos, and the Amunátegui Reyes family, Miguel Luis and Gregorio Victor. Volumes carefully indexed.

131. ——— *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*. Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes.

Volume XIX carries the laws of the Cabildo from January, 1810 to September 23, 1814.

132. ——— *Diario de un joven Norteamericano detenido en Chile durante el período revolucionario de 1817 a 1819*. Traducido del inglés por. . . Santiago, Imprenta Elzevirana, 1898. 240 pp.

The youth is Isaac Foster Coffin (1778-1861). The book was originally published in Boston, 1823.

133. ——— *Diccionario biográfico colonial de Chile*. Memoria presentada a la Universidad de Chile en conformidad a lo dispuesto en el artículo 22 de la ley de 9 enero de 1879 sobre instrucción secundaria y superior (Monograma). Santiago, Imprenta Elzevirana, 1906. 1004 pp. [PAU Chi F3055.M4]

Biography on Ambrosio O'Higgins contains copies of important documents.

134. ——— *La Inquisición en Lima*. Santiago, 1890.

Index of all persons tried in Peru by Inquisition. Reveals nothing on the alleged trial of Ambrosio. Suggested by C. Vicuña Mackenna in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. Santiago, 1916, XVII. p. 16.

135. Mehegan, John J.: *O'Higgins in Chile—A brief sketch of his life and times*. London, J. and J. Bennett, Ltd., 1913. 243 pp. [LC F3094.037]

Reviewed in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 3rd quart. Santiago, 1913, p. 466. Points out inaccuracies of work.

136. *Memorial del estado mayor general del ejército, 1810-1910*. Santiago, Talleres del Estado Mayor, n.d. 137 pp., illus., pl., ports., fold. fascim. [LC F3093.C53]



Contains a study of the campaigns of the war for independence by Captain Luis Marino S. of the military school.

137. *Memorias sobre los principales sucesos de la revolución de Chile desde 1810 hasta 1814.* 109 pp. 4°. Series I, XXXVI., number two of "Colección de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Chile".

It is believed that these memoirs were written by Jeneral Bernardo O'Higgins. They were given by his half-sister, Rosa O'Higgins to the judge of the court of appeals, Manuel Cerda Campos, and certified by them as such.

138. *Mendiburú, Manuel de: Diccionario histórico biográfico Peruano.* Lima, Imprenta de J. Fco. Solis, 1874. 8 v.

Data on Ambrosio O'Higgins, the story of the "buhonero".

139. *Menéndez, Fray Francisco: Libro de los diarios de Fray Fco. M. Tomo I—Viajes a la Cordillera.* Publicados por Francisco Fonck. Valparaíso, Carlos F. Niemeyer, 1896. 528 pp. [PAU Chi F3063.F3]

Carries material on Ambrosio (pp. 158, 357, and 442).

140. *Mesa i Leompart, J.: Compendio de la historia de América desde su descubrimiento hasta nuestros días.* Paris, Librería de Rosa i Bouret, 1871. 2 v.

In the Santiago daily "La República", January 10, 1872, Don Diego Barros Arana published a critical article on this publication, which points out the many "inexactitudes" and errors contained therein.

141. *Miller, John: Memorias del Jeneral Miller al servicio de la República de Perú.* Escritas en inglés por Mr. John Miller i traducidas al castellano por el Jeneral Torrijos, amigo de ambos. Londres, Publicadas por los sres. Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown i Green, 1829. 2 v.

Miller is credited with aiding O'Connor in spreading popular legend of Ambrosio's early life.

142. *Miranda, Francisco: Consejo de un viejo Sud Americano a un joven sobre el proyecto de abandonar la Inglaterra para volver a su propio país.* In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*.

Unaddressed and unsigned, but is Miranda's letter to Bernardo O'Higgins on his departure from England, confirmed by comparison with signed documents.

143. *Mitre, Bartolomé: The emancipation of South America.* [Condensed translation by William Pilling of "The History of San Martin" by B. Mitre]. London, Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1893. 499 pp., maps, index. [PAU F2235.M68]

144. Molinare, Nicanor: Breve estudio sobre los uniformes usados por las tropas coloniales e independientes de Chile. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. Santiago, 1914, pp. 170-204.

On p. 183, "Dragones de la Frontera" data on Ambrosio O'Higgins's entrance into this regiment. On p. 189, Bernardo O'Higgins founds a cadet college.

145. Montaner y Simon (ed.): *Diccionario enciclopédico Hispano-Americano de la literatura, ciencia y arte*. Barcelona, Montaner y Simón, Editor, 1894, XIV. 119-120. [PAU Chi H661.05]

Lengthy biography of Bernardo O'Higgins.

146. Montt, Luis: *Bibliografía Chilena (1780-1807)*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. Santiago. Continued article. Vols. XXVII to XLI incl.

Contains items on O'Higgins as follows: 2nd quart. 1919, items on Albano Casimiro, pp. 157-160; Also contains data on "Memoria del Excmo. Sr. don Bernardo O'Higgins, etc."; 3rd quart. 1919, pp. 370-385, Continuation of above, vols. XXXII to XXXVI not consulted; 1st quart. 1921, pp. 458-473, items 206-219; 2nd quart. 1921, pp. 236-273, items 228, summary of each number of *Gaceta del Supremo Gobierno*, 1817, 21 issues; 3rd quart. 1921, pp. 423-473, items 229, same for 1817-18, 47 numbers; 1st quart. 1922, pp. 416-455, items 242 and 246.

147. Monumento a Bernardo O'Higgins en Chillán. Don Roberto Negri, autor. *Zig-Zag*. Santiago, February 22, 1919. (Illus. and portrait only.)

148. Monumento a Bernardo O'Higgins en Buenos Aires, inauguración. *Ilustración Argentina*. Buenos Aires, September, 1918.

149. Moore Montero, E.: Vida del doctor Juan Martínez Rozas. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1921, pp. 76-97 (conclusion).

Relations of Rozas and O'Higgins.

150. Moses, Bernard: *South America on the eve of Emancipation*. New York, G. A. Putnam's Sons, 1908. 356 pp. [PAU F2233.M91]

Data on Ambrosio on pp. 224, 228, and 239.

151. ———— *Spain's declining power in South America (1730-1806)*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1919. 440 pp. [PAU F2233.M92]

Data on Ambrosio pp. 246, 273, 282, 386, 392, 393.

152. Mújica, J.: *Nobleza colonial de Chile* [Linajes Españoles]. Santiago, Editorial Zamorano y Caperán, 1927. 386 pp. [PAU Chi CS314.M8]

Contains no direct references to O'Higgins's claim of nobility.

153. Muñoz, Juan Ramón: *Vida i escritos de don Bernardo Monteagudo o sea rasgos biográficos de uno de los mas altos personajes del drama revolucionario de Sud América*. Valparaíso, Imprenta "El Mercurio", 1859. 127 pp.

Further light on the alleged "monarchical" attempts in Chile.

154. Nelson, Thomas (ed.): *Nelson's Encyclopedia*, Volume IX. London, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1907. [PAU AE5.N33]

Brief biographies of Ambrosio and Bernardo on page 29.

155. O'Higgins, Ambrosio: *Chile en 1792—Carta de don Ambrosio O'Higgins a don Diego de Gardoqui*. In *Biblioteca de autores Chilenos*. Santiago, G. E. Miranda, 1903. [LC F.3051.B38 v14]

It is interesting to note that the letter, dated at Santiago, August 26, 1792 is signed Ambrosio Higgins Vallenar.

156. ——— Expediente firmado en esta capital para establecimiento de comedias en ella—Año de 1793. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1913, pp. 283-300.

Contains a number of documents signed by and relating to Ambrosio O'Higgins, President of Chile, on the above subject.

157. ——— Memoria de los servicios públicos del Dr. don Juan Egaña. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1918, pp. 5-32.

On page 32, there is a short letter from Ambrosio O'Higgins to Egaña acknowledging receipt of a report and commending his work.

158. ——— Papeles relativos a don Francisco Ruiz Tagle, don Francisco Suber-Caseaux y don Manuel de Bulnes y Quevedo. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1911, pp. 74-80.

Contains two letters of Ambrosio O'Higgins, pp. 76 and 77, dated December 6, 1790, Valparaíso, and January 7, 1792, Santiago.

159. ——— Un documento inédito sobre don Ambrosio O'Higgins. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1918, pp. 81-83.

In *Archivo General de las Indias, Sevilla*, document headed "Indiferente del Peru. Expedientes. Años 1761 a 1762. Estante 138, cajon 3º, legajo 23." Statement of Ambrosio to King soliciting Spanish citizenship, states he was in

Cádiz from 1751-1756, leaving for America in 1756 returning to Spain on June 1770. Dated Consejo de Indias, January 21, 1771.

160. O'Higgins, Bernardo: Carta de don Bernardo O'Higgins a don Domingo Arteaga. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. Santiago, 1914, pp. 296-297.

Dated at Lima, July 25, 1832.

161. ——— Carta de O'Higgins a Bolívar. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. Santiago, 1927, p. 260.
162. ——— Bernardo O'Higgins (1778-1842). Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, n.d. 15 pp. 12°. [NYPL A.p.v. 165 No. 9]
163. ——— Cartas de O'Higgins, Luna Pizarro, Bolívar y don Juan Egaña dirigidas a don Joaquín Campiño. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart, Santiago, 1913, pp. 38-47.

Letter from O'Higgins is dated Chavara, December 6, 1822. Very short, appointing Campiño as Minister to Colombia. 37-38 pp.

164. ——— Letters exchanged with José de San Martín. In *La Esperanza*. Buenos Aires, 1918, p. 247.

Dated January 12, 1827 and October 20, 1827.

165. ——— Recopilación de los decretos espeditos por el supremo Director de Chile sobre la institución i rejimen de la Legión de Mérito. Santiago, Imprenta del Gobierno, 1819. 24 pp.

Number of decrees signed by Bernardo O'Higgins.

166. ——— Testamento de don Bernardo O'Higgins. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1913, pp. 234-243.

Contains O'Higgins's will, dated October 8, 1842. Declares he has no legal heirs, ascendants or descendants, and leaves all to Doña Rosa Rodrigues i Riquelme, his half-sister. Also contains Doña Rosa's will to Demetrio O'Higgins (relation not named) and Toribio Pequeño. Dated Lima, September 28, 1846.

167. ——— O'Higgins en Washington. *La Nación*. Santiago, July 1919.

Unveiling of bust of O'Higgins in Pan American Union.

168. ——— Una relación de la batalla de Rancagua por don Bernardo O'Higgins. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. 1914, pp. 103-111.

Document not complete.

169. Orrego Luco, Luis: Episódios nacionales de la independencia de Chile. 1810 "Memorias de un voluntario de la Patria vieja". Santiago, Barcelona, 1905. 247 pp. [PAU Chi F3094.07]



170. Orrego Vicuña, Eugenio: El espíritu constitucional de la administración O'Higgins. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 2nd quart. Santiago, 1922, pp. 96-319.

See also 4th quart. 1922, pp. 120-163, Part II; 1st quart. 1923, pp. 242-276; 2nd quart. 1923, pp. 297-369; 4th quart. 1923, pp. 5-77 (conclusion) Reprinted Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1924. 255 pp.

171. Páez P., Luis: Chile, Estudio histórico geográfico, militar, económico. Santiago, Talleres del Instituto Geográfico, 1923. 230 pp. [PAU Chi F3058.P4]

See pp. 163-176 for material on O'Higgins.

172. Pérez, García, José: Historia natural, militar, civil y sagrada del Reino de Chile, de su descubrimiento, conquista, gobierno, población, predicación evangelica, erección de catedrales y pacificación. Santiago, Imprenta Elzevieriano, 1900. 2 v. [PAU Chi F3051.P4]

Government of Ambrosio treated in Chapter 17, Volume II, pp. 419-430.

173. Pinto, Armando: Historia de Chile, 5th edition. Santiago, Editorial Nascimento, 1926. 176 pp. [PAU Chi F3081.P6]

For data on Ambrosio, see p. 43; on Bernardo, pp. 52, 70-92.

174. Poirier, Eduardo: Chile en 1908. Santiago, Imprenta "Barcelona", 1909. 276 pp.

Account on Bernardo pp. 79-90.

175. ——— Chile en 1910. Santiago, Imprenta "Barcelona", 1910. 541 pp.

Biography of Bernardo pp. 11-12.

176. Proceso por correspondencia subversiva contra doña Ana María Cotapos, doña Rosa Valdivieso, don José de la Peña, don Tomás José de Urra y José Conde 1817-1818. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1918, pp. 249-279; 2nd quart. 1918, pp. 90-124; 3rd quart. 1918, pp. 93-151.

Many of Bernardo O'Higgins's letters and decrees are found here.

177. Proctor, Robert: Narrative of a journey across the Cordillera of the Andes, and of a residence in Lima, and other parts of Perú in the years 1823 and 1824, by Robert Proctor, Esq. London, printed for Archibald Constable and Co., Edinburgh, 1825. 374 pp.

178. Recopilación de tratados y convenciones celebrados entre la república de Chile y las potencias extranjeras. Santiago, Imprenta Cervantes, 1894 (1819-1863). [PAU Chi JX546.1894]

Pp. 1-5 contain treaty between Argentina and Chile signed by don Bernardo O'Higgins.

179. Riarte, Tomás: Biografía del Brigadier General don José Miguel Carrera. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. Santiago, XL. 5-78.

Based largely on Amunátegui's "Dictadura de O'Higgins." Serves to give "other side" on O'Higgins.

180. Riquelme, Daniel: Compendio de la historia de Chile: Valparaíso, Lit. e Imprenta Sud-Americana de Bobra y Cia., 1899. 495 pp. [PAU Chi F3081.R4]

Material on Ambrosio, pp. 163-172; Bernardo, pp. 219-347.

181. Roa Uzrua, Luis: Casa Riquelme de la Barrera—Don Bernardo O'Higgins y Riquelme. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1927, pp. 389-404.

Valuable because it is one of the few references on the maternal ancestors of Bernardo.

182. Rodríguez, Carlos: Carta a los editores de "El Mercurio" de Valparaíso sobre su número 1332 i otros particulares. In *Colección de Historiadores, i documentos relativos a la independencia de Chile*. Santiago, G. E. Miranda. [LC F3094.C69]

Attack on O'Higgins, whom the author accuses of responsibility for the assassination of the Chilean Revolutionary leader, his brother, Manuel Rodríguez, in 1818.

183. Rodríguez, Gregorio F.: El General Soler [Contribución histórica—Documentos Inéditos 1783-1849]. Buenos Aires, Cia. Sud-Americana de Billetes de Banco, 1909. 555 pp.

Contains an extensive discussion of the relations between Soler and O'Higgins. A long and critical summary of this point is found in a review of the book in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 2nd quart. Santiago, 1911, pp. 334-335.

184. Rodríguez de Velasco, Francisco P.: Biografía del Doctor don José A. Rodríguez Aldea i refutación documentada de los cargos que se le hacen en la obra titulada "Ostracismo del Jeneral O'Higgins". Santiago, Imprenta del "Ferrocarriel", 1862. 264 pp.

See B. Vicuña Mackenna "Ostracismo. . ."

185. Rodríguez Ballesteros, José: Revista de la Guerra de la independencia de Chile desde 1813 hasta 1826, escrita por el Coronel del ejército real. . . Santiago, Imprenta del Estado, 1851. 232 pp.

186. San Martín breaks the Spanish power in Chile. Battle of Maipú. *Southern Cross*. Buenos Aires, May 24, 1918.
187. San Martín, José: Documentos del archivo de San Martín. Comision Nacional del Centenario, 12 v. Buenos Aires, Imprenta de Coni Hermanos, 1910-1911.

For data on O'Higgins see following: Vol. III pp. 241, 283, 417, 533, 539, 545, 553, 565; Vol. IV pp. 33, 137 containing also official correspondence between O'Higgins and San Martín [1818-1819]; Vol. V pp. 349-*et seq.* containing letters from O'Higgins to San Martín, 1817-1823; Vol. X pp. 11 *et seq.*, containing correspondence during exile; and Vol. XI pp. 25, 29, 234, 243, 246, 471, 473. Also numerous references to O'Higgins in other miscellaneous documents.

188. ——— San Martín—Su corespondencia (1825-1850). 3rd edition. Argentina, Adolfo P. Parranza "Museo Histórico Nacional", 1911. 354 pp. [PAU Arg F2235.S183]

Correspondence between O'Higgins and San Martín on pp. 1-63. Numerous references to O'Higgins in other letters.

189. Sanfuentes, Salvador: Chile desde la batalla de Chacabuco hasta la de Maipú. Memoria leida en la sesión solemne de la Universidad de Chile el 1 de diciembre de 1850, por don Salvador Sanfuentes. Santiago, Imprenta de la República, 1850. 158 pp.
190. Santa María, Domingo: Memoria histórica sobre los sucesos ocurridos desde la caída de don Bernardo O'Higgins en 1823, hasta la promulgación de la constitución dictada en el mismo año. Presentada a la Universidad de Chile en la sesión solemne del 13 de diciembre de 1857. Santiago, Imprenta de "El País", 1858. 250 pp.

Throws little light on O'Higgins dealing mostly with the period after his exile.

191. Scott-Elliott, G. E.: Chile—Its history and development, natural features, products, commerce and present conditions. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907. [Pau Chi F3058.E5]

Material on Ambrosio pp. 111-126; Bernardo pp. 127-198. Illustration of Ambrosio.

192. Setier, (?): Résumé de L'Histoire des revolutions des Colonies Espagnoles de l'Amerique de Sud, par Setier. Paris, Chez Bouquin de la Souche, Libraire Paris, 1827. 340 pp.

193. Selva, Salmón de la: Sucre y O'Higgins en la Unión Panamericana. *English Bulletin* of PAU 51: 499 Nov. 1920. *Spanish Bulletin* of PAU 19:384 Dec. 1920.

Brief summary of life of O'Higgins, in honor of the unveiling of respective busts in halls of Pan American Union.

194. Solar Amunátegui, Domingo: *Nacimiento de las Repúblicas Americanas* (1810). 4th quart. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 1927, pp. 114-132.

195. Suárez, J. B.: *Rasgos biográficos de hombres notables de Chile*. Santiago, Imprenta Nacional, 1863. 234 pp.

Short biography of O'Higgins on p. 33.

196. Sutcliffe, Thomas: *Sixteen years in Chile and Perú from 1822 to 1839*. By the retired Governor of Juan Fernández. London, Fisher Son & Co., 1841. 563 pp.

Contains material on exile of O'Higgins. Picture of Bernardo.

197. Tellez, Indalicio: *Epopeyas Chilenas*. Santiago, Soc. Imprenta y Literaria "Universo", 1922. 156 pp. [PAU Chi F3081]

See pp. 15-46 for material on Bernardo O'Higgins.

198. ——— *Historia de Chile: historia militar [1520-1883] por el jeneral Indalicio Tellez*. Santiago, Balcells & Cia., 1925. 3 v.

Also published the same year with title: "Historia militar de Chile, 1520-1883. 2 v. [PAU Chi F30867] Bernardo v. I. pp. 171-373. V. II pp. 5123.

199. ——— *Historia de Chile para uso de los Liceos*. Madrid, Gráficos Reunidos, 1924. 407 pp. [PAU Chi F3081]

For data on Ambrosio see pp. 154-159. Bernardo pp. 246-253, and 177-224.

200. Tornero, Orestes León: *Historia de la América desde la conquista hasta nuestros días*. Obra traducida, corregida i aumentada por Orestes Leon Tornero, seguida de un bosquejo de la historia particular de Chile. Valparaiso, Imprenta de "El Mercurio", 1857. 520 pp.

201. Torente, Mariano: *Historia de la revolución Hispano Americana*. Madrid, Imprenta de Amarita, 1829. 3 v.

202. *Una carta curiosa sobre la actuación de Chile y la Argentina en la independencia Sudamericana*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1918, pp. 5-57.

Dated September 18, 1826 and addressed to Bernardino Rivadavia. Unsigned, but is in hand-writing of John Thomas, apparently dictated by O'Higgins. Contained in *Archivo de O'Higgins*, last volume.

203. *Un folleto de propaganda, hasta ahora desconocido, sobre la revolución de la independencia de Chile*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1915, pp. 426-446.

Related to O'Higgins.



204. Valdes Vergara, Fco.: *Historia de Chile para la Enseñanza Primaria*. 20th edition. Valparaiso, Imprenta y Literaria Universo, 1929. 376 pp. [Pau Chi F3081.V46]

For data on Ambrosio see pp. 75-91; Bernardo pp. 110-225.

205. Varas Velázquez, Miguel: *El primer período del Congreso Nacional de 1811 (Nuevos documentos)*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1913, pp. 294-360.

In an extensive discussion of the topic much is said about O'Higgins's election to Congress, his actions therein, his justification for resigning, etc.

206. ———— *El reglamento constitucional de 1812—Nuevos documentos*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 2nd quart. Santiago, 1915, pp. 107-141.

Has reference to a Tomás O'Higgins on pages 137-140. Title is "Coronel Graduado de ejército y Gobernador político y militar de esta plaza y su departamento (Serena in Coquimbo)".

207. ———— *Epocas y hechos memorables de la revolución de Chile, por don Juan Egaña*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1914, pp. 263-271.

Numerous references to O'Higgins.

208. ———— *Reclamación de don José Gaspar Marín, en 1813, contra su propia elección*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1916, pp. 242-252.

Contains some data on Tomás O'Higgins.

209. ———— *Un nuevo secretario de estado en 1813, don José Vicente de Aguirre*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1913, pp. 136-147.

Pp. 145-146 contains O'Higgins's documents appointing Aguirre as "Fiscal de Hacienda" dated Santiago, May 14, 1822.

210. Vega, Manuel J.: *La República de Chile y el Libertador Simón Bolívar*. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. Santiago, 1915, pp. 425-443.

Contains correspondence between O'Higgins and Bolívar.

211. Vera, R.: *Don Bernardo O'Higgins*. Santiago, Imprenta Chilena, 1869. 60 pp.

212. Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín: *Archivo de O'Higgins (manuscripts) classified as follows*: Vol. 1. Correspondencia de colombianos i peruanos, 108 fojas; Vol. 2. Argentinos, 172 fojas (oficios i cartas); Vol. 3. Personajes chilenos—180 fojas (oficios i cartas); Vol. 4. Europeos—130 fojas (cartas);

Vol. 5. Lord Cochrane—87 fojas (oficios, cartas i papeles); Vol. 6. Guise, Wooster, O'Brien—89 fojas (cartas); Vol. 7. Ramon Mariano de Aris—256 fojas (cartas); Vol. 8. Jeneral Guillermo Miller—197 fojas (cartas); Vol. 9. Mr. John Miller—1824, 72 fojas (cartas); Vol. 10. Jenerales del ejército de Chile—155 fojas (cartas); Vol. 11. Jeneral Freire—74 fojas (oficios i cartas); Vol. 12. Jeneral Prieto—118 fojas (cartas); Vol. 13. Jefes del ejército de Chile—91 fojas (cartas); Vol. 14. Doctor Zanartu—139 fojas (cartas); Vol. 15. Antonio José de Irissari—32 fojas (oficios i cartas); Vol. 16. D. D. Villegas i Lazo—84 fojas (cartas); Vol. 17. D. R. M. de Aris (2) 1832—23 fojas (cartas); Vol. 18. D. R. M. de Aris (3) 1834—39 fojas (cartas); Vol. 19. Vicente Claro Correspondencia (1) 1823-1841—160 fojas; Vol. 20. Vicente Claro—Papeles varios elecciones de 1831—197 fojas; Vol. 21. Correspondencia del Jeneral O'Higgins, con varios borradores—250 fojas; Vol. 22. Documentos públicos del Jeneral O'Higgins—62 fojas; Vol. 23. Papel a sueltos sobre el Jeneral O'Higgins—116 fojas; Vol. 24. Juan Thomas—Apuntes sobre la independencia de Chile 1810-1814—204 fojas; Vol. 25. Juan Thomas i otros—Papeles varios sobre la independencia de Chile—1814-1826—209 fojas; Vol. 26. Juan Thomas—Papeles varios sobre la Primera Escuadra Nacional—122 fojas; Vol. 27. Juan Thomas—Diario del Jeneral O'Higgins en la campaña de Ayacucho, 1824—100 fojas; Vol. 28. Juan Thomas—Papeles varios—159 fojas; Vol. 29. Papeles varios sobre la América—190 fojas; Vol. 30. Manuscritos varios—121 fojas.

Collection donated by Demetrio O'Higgins to Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, and now custodied by National Library of Chile at Santiago. They form one of the chief sources of documentary information on Bernardo O'Higgins and many are still unpublished.

213. ———— Antecedentes históricos sobre el "Ostracismo" del Jeneral O'Higgins. *Anales de la Universidad*. Santiago, May-June, 1920, 402 pp.

Data on controversy on the book "Ostracismo . . ." on points relating to the life of José A. Rodríguez Aldea, between Fco. P. Rodríguez de Velasco and Vicuña Mackenna. [See "Biografía del Doctor don José A. Rodríguez Aldea," by Fco. P. Rodríguez de Velasco].

214. ——— Biografía del buen patriota don Bernardo O'Higgins, Jeneral Chileno. Paris, prepared by Libreria de Rosa i Bouret. 180 pp.

This biography is a brief summary of the book "Ostracismo del Jeneral O'Higgins," by B. Vicuña Mackenna.

215. ——— El Almirante don Manuel Blanco Encalada—Correspondencia de Blanco Encalada y otros Chilenos eminentes, con el Libertador. Madrid, Editorial "América", 1918. 222 pp. (Biblioteca de la juventud hispano-americana—XIII.) [LC F3094.B64]

Does not include letters written by Bolívar.

216. ——— El Dean Alcazar—algunos datos inéditos sobre el General don Andrés del Alcazar y su familia. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 2nd quart. Santiago, 1914, pp. 102-122.

Throws several interesting sidelights on lives of Ambrosio and Bernardo O'Higgins.

217. ——— El Jeneral don José San Martín, considerado enteramente según documentos inéditos, con motivo de la inauguración de su estatua en Santiago, el 5 de abril de 1863. Santiago, Imprenta "Nacional", 1902. 98 pp. 2nd ed.

"Biblioteca de Autores Chilenos", 2nd edition. Santiago, G. Miranda, 1902. VII. 150. [LC F3051. B58 v. 7].

218. ——— El ostracismo de los carrerras. Los Jenerales José Miguel i Juan José i el Coronel Luis Carrera. Episodio de la independencia de Sud-América. Santiago, Imprenta de "El Ferrocarril", 1857. 553 pp. [LC F3094.V64]

219. ——— El ostracismo del Jeneral don Bernardo O'Higgins. Escrito sobre documentos inéditos i noticias auténticas. Valparaiso, Imprenta de "El Mercurio", 1860. 575 pp.

At end of text on p. 494 "Fin del Tomo primero". Library of Congress says no second volume known. See preface to "Vida del Capitan General O'Higgins" same author. [LC F3094. V65]. This volume is really the one referred to as "Tomo Dos."

220. ——— Historia Jeneral de la República de Chile desde su independencia hasta nuestros días. Por los señores J. V. Lastarria, M. A. Tocornal, D. J. Benavente, M. L. i G. V. Amunátegui, S. Sanfuentes, A. García Reyes, D. Santa María, D. Barros Arana, M. Concha y Toro, F. Errazuriz, etc. Edición autorizada por la Universidad de Chile, corregida y

considerablemente aumentada por sus autores, publicada con notas ilustrativas i comentarios según documentos orijinales e inéditos por B. Vicuña Mackenna. Santiago, Imprenta "Nacional", 1866-1868. 4 v.

This a reprint of the annual papers on Chilean history presented to the University of Chile. Several deal with O'Higgins.

221. ———— Introducción a la historia de los diez años de la administración Montt. don Diego Portales, por B. Vicuña Mackenna. Valparaiso, Imprenta de "El Mercurio", 1863. 2 v.

Some material on O'Higgins.

222. ———— La batalla de Maipú—Narración del ilustre escritor— Edición extraordinaria hecha al fin de conmemorar este hecho histórico en su centenario. Santiago, Imprenta "Chile", 1918. 63 pp. [LC F3094.V62] [PAU Chi F3094.V6]

223. ———— La corona del héroe. Recopilación de datos i documentos para perpetuar la memoria del Jeneral don Bernardo O'Higgins. Mandada publicar por el ex-ministro de Guerra, don Francisco Echaurren. Santiago, Imprenta "Nacional", 1872.

One of the most valuable reference books on O'Higgins. Contains documents, short bibliography, biography (pp. 225-228 on Ambrosio; pages 228-327 on Bernardo).

224. ———— La guerra a la Muerte—Memoria sobre las últimas campañas de la independencia de Chile, 1819-1824, escrita sobre documentos enteramente inéditos i leída en la sesión solemne celebrada por la Universidad de Chile el 17 de septiembre de 1868. Santiago, Imprenta "Nacional", 1868. 265 pp. [LC F3094.V63]

Also included in his "Historia Jeneral de la Republica de Chile" Santiago, 1866-1868, III. 185-742. [LC. F3094. V633].

225. ———— Los últimos dias del Capitan Jeneral don Bernardo O'Higgins. Fragmentos Biográficos. Santiago, Imprenta "Chilena", 1864. 64 pp. [LC F3094.038]

226. ———— Miscelánea—Colección de artículos, discursos, biografías, impresiones de viaje, etc., 1849-1872. . . . Santiago, Imprenta de la Librería del Mercurio, 1872-1874. 3 v. [PAU Chi F3051.V65]

Volume I, Chapter 2 Sitio de Chillan in 1813, p. 22.



227. ————Obras científicas y literarias del Doctor don José Hipólito Unanue. Barcelona, Tipografía de la Academia de Serra Hrs. y Russe., 1914. 3 v.

Contains letters of San Martín and Bolívar.

228. ————Vida del Capitán Jeneral de Chile, don Bernardo O'Higgins, Brigadier de la República Argentina i Gran Mariscal del Perú. Santiago, R. Jover, 1882. 982 pp. [LC F3094.0384]

Valuable reference on O'Higgins. Follows up his "Ostracismo del Jeneral O'Higgins."

229. ————Vida del Jeneral don Juan Mackenna, por su nieto. . . . Santiago, Imprenta "Ferrocarril", 1856. 1 v. 49 pp.

Also in "Biblioteca de Autores Chilenos" v. X (Erroneously numbered volume VIII) pp. 143 [LC F3051. B58 v. 8].

230. Vicuña Mackenna, Carlos: Diario del viaje del Jeneral O'Higgins en la campaña de Ayacucho. Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1917. 247 pp. [PAU Chi F3094.0 T3]

Volume 27 of "Archivo de O'Higgins" written in English by John Thomas, and translated to Spanish. Valuable notations by C. V. M. Previously appeared in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. Original in Volume 105 of the "Manuscript Archives" of Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna. A brief summary of this diary appeared in Bulnes, Gonzalo, "Últimas campañas de la independencia del Perú," Chapter XI.

231. ————Diario del viaje del Jeneral O'Higgins en la campaña de Ayacucho. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. Part I, De Trujillo a Huanuco; 3rd quart. 1916, pp. 138-212. Part II, De Huanuco a Andalalas; 4th quart. 1916, pp. 67-128. Part III, De Andalalas a Vinae; 1st quart. 1917, pp. 171-228. Part IV, Fin de la Jornada; 2nd quart. 1916, pp. 5-56. Santiago.

This is a Spanish translation of volume 27 of the "Archivo Vicuña Mackenna" (see Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín) which is the English diary kept by John Thomas, secretary to O'Higgins.

232. ————El origen de don Ambrosio O'Higgins y sus primeros años en América. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1916, pp. 126-172.

Has complete detail of origin, family, and early life; refutes legendary origin of poor parents; emigration to America and early years in Chile.

233. ————El Socorro de Membrillar. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1916, pp. 18-34.

O'Higgins belated aid to General Juan Mackenna.

234. ———— La batalla de Rancagua (Relación de John Thomas). In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. 1914, pp. 5-59.

Said to be dictated to Thomas by O'Higgins in English. Translated into Spanish by Carlos Vicuña Mackenna.

235. ———— Las Huellas de O'Higgins en Chillán viejo. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1916, pp. 269-272.

236. ———— Los proyectos del Virrey O'Higgins. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, pp. 128-140.

Original title was "Apuntes de don José Tomás sobre navegación de los ríos en el Perú." Part of "Archivo de O'Higgins." Prepared for publication by Carlos Vicuña Mackenna.

237. ———— O'Higgins y Mackenna íntimos—Dos Cartas de 1811. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. Santiago, 1915, pp. 5-56.

From O'Higgins to Mackenna, dated at Canteras, January 5, 1811, translated by Carlos Vicuña Mackenna. 5-14 pp. From Juan Mackenna to O'Higgins, dated February 20, 1811, translated. Footnotes by Carlos Vicuña Mackenna.

238. Villamil Concha, Enrique: Don Manuel Blanco Encalada—Rasgos biográficos. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. 1917, pp. 383-421.

239. ———— Vida de don Manuel Blanco Encalada. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 4th quart. Santiago, 1918, pp. 471-477; 1st quart. 1919, pp. 27-63; 2nd quart. 1919, pp. 161-211; 3rd quart. 1919, pp. 321-369; 4th quart. 1919, p. 32.

240. Villanueva, Carlos A.: La Monarquía en América—Bolívar y el General San Martín. Sociedad de ediciones Literarias y Artísticas. Paris, Librería Paul Ollendorf. 287 pp.

Discussion of O'Higgins's dictatorial actions. An extensive review discussing O'Higgins's monarchical views or attributed views as seen by various authors is found in *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart. Santiago, 1911, pp. 508-509.

241. Villegas, Hipólito: Cartas de don Hipólito Villegas a Bernardo O'Higgins. In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 1st quart. Santiago, 1927; 2nd quart. 1927, pp. 144-196; 3rd quart. 1927, pp. 168-195.

242. Viva la Patria, in *Gaceta Ministerial Extraordinario de Chile*, December 4, 1820.

Relates to service during which agitation was made for the removal of O'Higgins as Supreme Director.

243. Volunteers of Freedom—Anglo-Saxons in the Chilean war for independence. In *South Pacific Mail*, Valparaiso, September 14, 1923. Supplement, pp. 50-52.

Carries picture of O'Higgins and brief description after Thomas Carlyle in his "Essay on Dr. Francia."

244. Winter, Nevin O.: Chile and her people of today. Boston, L. C. Page and Co., 1912. 417 pp. [PAU Chi F3058.W7]

For data on Bernardo O'Higgins, see p. 288; Ambrosio, pp. 16, 286, 294 *et seq.*

245. Wright, Marie Robinson: The Republic of Chile—The growth, resources, and international conditions of a great nation. London, George Barrie & Sons. 450 pp. [PAU Chi F3058.W9]

See pp. 34-42 for material on O'Higgins.

246. Zapiola, José: Recuerdos de treinta años (1810-1840). 5th edition. Santiago, G. Miranda, Editor, 1902.

Volume IX of "Biblioteca de Autores Chilenos. 310 pp. [PAU Chi F3094.Z1].

247. Zenteno, Ignacio: El General Zenteno (part of continued article). In *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 2nd quart. Santiago, 1914, pp. 465-473.

On pp. 470-471 there is a short anecdote on the life of Bernardo as a child. Also see *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*. 3rd quart., 1914, pp. 425-453; 4th quart., 1914, pp. 442-448; 2nd quart., 1915, pp. 460-467; 3rd quart., 1915, pp. 464-472; 4th quart., 1915, pp. 137-159; 1st quart., 1916, pp. 220-272; 2nd quart., 1916, pp. 33-56. Contains innumerable letters and references to O'Higgins.

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## NOTES

The large place which the economic development of nations plays in their historical evolution is a commonplace among all serious students of Hispanic American History. Those who desire to keep abreast of what is taking place in Argentina in the economic field have available a mine of information in the monthly *Revista de Economía Argentina* now in its thirteenth year. The editor is Ing. Alejandro E. Bunge, professor and ex-counsellor of the University of Buenos Aires, ex-director general of national statistics, and generally regarded as the foremost statistician of South America. He has written a large number of books of which *La Economía Argentina* (4 vols., Buenos Aires, 1928-1929) is the most important. The number of the *Revista* for October, 1931—to take a typical example—contains *inter alia* the exposition of the minister of finance, Sr. Enrique Uriburú, on the condition of the national finances during the fiscal year 1930-1931. This exposition contains a detailed analysis of the situation of the treasury at the end of Irigoyen's administration and sheds an interesting light on one of the major causes of the revolution of September 6, 1930. The present financial crisis is discussed at some length and an analysis is made of the heroic measures proposed by the government to maintain national solvency. Other articles in the *Revista* contain a detailed survey of the finances of the provinces, the section of the presidential message entitled "La Obra de Gobierno y de Administración del 6 de Setiembre de 1930 al 6 de Setiembre de 1931", and a vast mass of more technical material, chiefly in the shape of statistical summaries covering every phase of Argentine economic life. The office of the *Revista* is Avenida Diagonal Saéna Peña, 637, Buenos Aires.—P. A. M.

Clennell Wilkinson in his *Dampier, Explorer and Buccaneer* (New York, Harper Brothers, 1929) has written the most comprehensive biography of this interesting character that has yet appeared. While acknowledging his indebtedness to Rear Admiral Smyth and to Mr. Masfield, he has himself made extensive original investigations and made use of materials never before utilized. Much of the volume



treats of Dampier's experiences in the waters of Hispanic America, both in the Atlantic and Pacific. Few of the buccaneers had so adventurous a career and perhaps none of them the same ability for observation as he, unless, of course, we except Esquemeling. The book is written in a sympathetic tone and the author makes the best defense of Dampier that can probably be made. In his treatment of the buccaneers he is inclined, perhaps, to err on the side of mercy, for the distinction he makes between pirates and buccaneers is too greatly in the favor of the latter. The buccaneers provided, in fact, the great training school for piracy; and it was easy to slip over the line and to learn to fly the "jolly roger". Incidentally, Mr. Wilkison says about the only good word for Sir Henry Morgan that has been said of recent years. Dampier, however, was really of a different stamp from most of his fellows—he was with them, but not of them; and he had the saving grace of seeing and putting down what he saw. His observations in the Philippines are especially good and we are indebted to him for many descriptions of localities in Hispanic America. The book is well written and makes good reading.

The changed attitude, or, perhaps, the better defined attitude of business men in the United States toward the peoples and countries of Hispanic America is reflected in the books that have been published for some time past with regard to commercial factors in Spanish and Portuguese America. This is apparent in Clayton Sedgwick Cooper, *Latin America—Men and Markets*, published in 1927 by Ginn & Co. (Boston). In his preface, he says:

This book has been written in order to promote a clearer understanding of the main characteristics of Latin-American business men and a better knowledge of the trade relationships existing between the United States and Latin America. While here and there . . . the author has made attempts at interpretation and analysis, his main object has been to present briefly the fundamental facts relative to trade and business conditions in each of the Latin-American countries, so that the student, the business man, and the general reader may secure some comprehensive knowledge of Latin America as a whole, particularly with regard to the close commercial relations existing between the two parts of the Western Hemisphere.

He stresses the lack of knowledge of Hispanic America in the United States, and urges the need for sympathy and understanding. Speaking of business honor he says:

Some writers have given the impression that in this respect the Latin-American business man has not advanced so far as his North American neighbor. The testimony of many intelligent American traders in Latin-America does not bear out this opinion.

The first chapter—"Understanding Latin America"—is excellent and should be read carefully by all studying or dealing with Hispanic America. The chapter on "Historical Background" is short and general in character and adds nothing. The following fifteen chapters, however, which deal with the various countries of Hispanic America are important, as is the eighteenth chapter on "Trade Problems". It might be noted here that the careful work in Hispanic America of the agents of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the United States has been instrumental in fostering cordiality between the United States and Hispanic America.

Dr. Thomas Gann, the well known archeologist whose discoveries of old Mayan remains are most important and notable, has written about his investigations in Central America in his book *Discoveries and Adventures in Central America* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929, pp. 261, illus., index, \$5.00). The volume gives a fair idea of some of the archeological accomplishments in Mayan America; but indicates as well the immense amount of work still to be done. Undoubtedly, there are still hidden away amid the jungles of Yucatan and Central America, many precious relics of the bygone Mayan civilization. But it is easy to predict that exploration in the future will be easier than in the past, for now the scientist can call the aeroplane to his aid. However, the actual study of any ruins must still be done by clearing away the jungle and the debris of centuries, and the spade, pickax, and sieve are still indispensable. The expedition, of which Dr. Gann writes, was made in 1927 and 1928, into British Honduras, where the Mayan remains have not been so extensively studied as in other parts. Here the author made many important discoveries, including ruins of edifices as well as of many utensils and personal possessions. These he has described in some detail. A portion of the volume is written in a half popular style and relates the experiences of the author and his companions; and the remainder is written in quite scientific language. The volume will appeal, therefore, to two classes of readers, but it is a question as to whether Gann might



not have written two books—one for more popular reading and the other for scientists and students. The exploring party had the good fortune to locate the ruins of Chumucha in British Honduras, the only authentic Mayan ruin which has been discovered there. Dr. Gann seems sure of his dates, but after all the ingenious system which has been worked out by scientists has not been unreservedly accepted and needs further corroboration. The volume is a valuable one as a record of human achievement both of the Mayans and of their modern investigators. Dr. Gann has advanced considerably our knowledge of the old ruins. His book shows him to be possessed of that necessary qualification for all archaeological work, namely imagination; and he has approached his investigations with a devoted enthusiasm. Undoubtedly when more ruins are thoroughly explored, scientists will be more able to construct their theories. More facts are still necessary.

Hosea Ballou Morse, who has written so much that is excellent on the Far East, has published (1931) through Houghton Mifflin of Boston another volume primarily relating to that section. This is *Far Eastern International Relations* (pp. xviii, 846). One would not ordinarily look for anything touching Hispanic America in a volume of this nature. The Far East, however, has had certain contacts with Hispanic America in modern times, notably the considerable immigration of Chinese into Cuba and Peru. The horrors of the coolie traffic—first carried on direct between China and Cuba and China and Peru, and later by way of the Portuguese settlement of Macao—forms a chapter in the contact between east and west that is not pleasant. There appears to be no discussion in the volume of the smuggling of Chinese that goes on at the present time from Cuba and other points into the United States and other places under conditions that are little if any better than the old coolie traffic. There is at present a large Chinese population in Cuba as well as in Peru and other places. There is room for a chapter on Japanese relations with Brazil and Cuba. In Cuba as in the Philippines, the Chinese aspire to become proprietors and to get the trade of the region where they settle into their hands, and they are generally successful. There is room also for a comprehensive work on the immigration of orientals (including peoples of the Near, Middle, and Far East) into Hispanic America and their influence on social and economic conditions. The author has just scratched the field in this book.

The Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores of Mexico has issued through its press (1931) a volume entitled *Homenaje a Bolívar en el primer Centenario de su Muerte, 1830-1930* (pp. 97). This contains the ceremonies organized by the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, the Secretaría de Educación Pública, the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, and other entities. Addresses relating to Bolívar were made by the following: Luis Chavez Orozco, head of the Publicity Department of the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, the Peruvian minister to Mexico, former senator José Castillo, Professor Higinio Vázquez Santana, Dr. Alfonso Pruneda, Andrés Iduarte, Luis Hajar y Haro, Enrique C. Creel, and Agustín Aragón. A hymn to Bolívar was read by Manuel Ramírez Arriaga; and an ode was read at the statue of Bolívar by Miguel Antonio Caro. The volume is an addition to Bolivariana.

On December 9, Professor Percy Alvin Martin read a paper at the celebration held at Stanford University in honor of the centenary of Bolívar on "Simón Bolívar the Liberator". This has been issued (1931) by the trustees of the University in a pamphlet of thirty-four pages—the third of the "Stanford Pamphlets" to be published.



